

THE  
**Library Chronicle**  
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

SPRING 1958

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VOLUME VI

NUMBER 2

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

**THOMAS FRANK HARWOOD** is a Teaching Assistant in the Department of History.

**PHILIP GRAHAM** is a Professor of English at the University.

**LEROY H. LINDER** is Assistant Professor of Library Science.

**LEONARD B. PLUMMER** is a Research Assistant in the Department of Germanic Languages.

**HAROLD W. BILLINGS** is a Librarian in the Catalog Department.

THE LIBRARY CHRONICLE, issued occasionally, is edited by Oscar Maurer, Department of English, and published by the Library of The University of Texas, Austin 12, Alexander Moffit, Librarian.

# The Littlefield Fund for Southern History

## II. Catalogued Books and Pamphlets on the Negro, Slavery, and the Civil War

THOMAS FRANK HARWOOD

SINCE 1914 the Littlefield Fund has added to the Library's main catalog more than 17,450 printed titles relating, for the overwhelming part, to the history of the South.<sup>1</sup> This monumental concentration of histories, studies, fiction, poetry, essays, sermons, memoirs, letters, diaries, journals, biographies, speeches, statistical compilations, proceedings, surveys, catalogs—imprinted in books, pamphlets, broadsides, and serial publications, or, in some cases, photographically reproduced—makes the University of Texas one of the ranking places in the nation for study of the South.

The collection reflects a conception of history in the broadest sense: by means of it may be studied the whole story of the region, its natural basis, its people, and the complex maze of crowding events and personalities which throng the years as its people react upon the natural basis, upon each other, and upon the rest of the nation and the world.

Materials accumulated by the Fund have been catalogued and located wherever in the Library their subject matter determined, rather than isolated as a separate collection. This should be kept constantly in mind with regard to estimates of holdings in various categories which are included in the present survey. It should be also kept in mind that this is not a survey of University of Texas library holdings, but only of such as were acquired by the Littlefield Fund.

<sup>1</sup> The total number of printed pieces, excluding photoreproductions, broadsides, and maps, purchased by the Littlefield Fund is estimated at about 30,000. The discrepancy between this total and the much smaller one above arises mainly from two facts, viz., that the count of items reckons each piece in serial and other multi-volume works as a separate item, and includes not only more than 1,000 volumes of newspapers but also several thousand books and pamphlets, notably the Shettles Methodist Collection of 2,291 volumes (2,129 titles), not yet in the Library main catalog.

In view of the indicated size and breadth of the Littlefield purchases, it is obvious that we have in them, as already suggested, a panorama of the whole range of southern life. Hardly an aspect is not represented by at least some material. But it is to be expected that aspects which distinguish southern life from that of the preponderant part of the nation would stand out as salient features in a southern panorama. Among the most striking differentiations of the South from the rest of the nation are the historical experience of Negro slavery and the continuing legacy of problems deriving therefrom, and the historical experience of defeat in a war for independence. It is not surprising that among the largest categories in the collection are the closely related matters of slavery as an institution; of slavery as political, social, and religious issue; and secession, Confederacy, and the Civil War. These categories will be surveyed first.

The collection, then, is rich indeed in matters by, about, and for the Negro. The phrases "southern United States Negro" or "American Negro," are deliberately skirted here because the collectors have evidently quite wisely assumed that almost any material relating to the Negro is germane to southern history. But it should be pointed in passing that of course southern United States Negro material predominates.

The Library has inserted most Littlefield-purchased Negro items into Dewey's third class, social sciences, or into his ninth class, history. Most of those classified in social sciences are grouped under slavery, although an important quantity are gathered under education of the Negro, education being considered in the very broadest sense. Most of the Negro items classified under history are found in the sections devoted to causes of the Civil War, including the bulk of the slavery controversy material. But many other Negro items occur in the regular historical periods sections, as, for example, an array of works on the social problems of the freedmen which occur in the reconstruction section. Moreover, considerable numbers of Negro materials are not classified as social science or history: works devoted to Negro life and experience appear, naturally, under useful arts, fine arts, literature, and other classes.

Quantitative estimates of Negro holdings in areas where Negro materials are most concentrated, however, were made without dif-

ficulty; and these estimates should indicate the great strength in Negro study which the fund has made available. In social sciences, about 550 items are catalogued as Negro slavery and about 152 as Negro education; in history, slavery as a cause of the Civil War accounts for approximately 750 items. Thus in the main areas of Negro grouping, the Fund has enriched the library by some 1452 books, pamphlets, broadsides, and magazine serials.<sup>2</sup>

Bibliographies include, besides M. N. Work's standard *Bibliography of the Negro in Africa and America*, a *Bibliography of Negro Newspapers in the United States, 1827-1946*, by H. W. Brown, a *Catalogue of Antislavery Publications in America*, compiled by the American Antislavery Society, and A. A. Schomburg's bibliographical check-list of American Negro poetry. General Negro histories written in various periods and from various points-of-view abound, with such contrasting items as a Charleston, S. C. *Natural History of the Negro Race*, 1837, and *From Slavery to Freedom* by the modern Harvard Negro Doctor of Philosophy, John Hope Franklin. There are numerous items devoted to the controversy only recently more or less settled in favor of the Negro by anthropology: whether the Negro is constitutionally different from, or inferior to, the race which enslaved him. The Negro inferiority school, from Josiah C. Nott to Thomas Dixon, is well represented, but balanced by a host from the other side, published mainly in the North and in England. Works alleging Negro incapacity seem to have been prevalent in southern publishing in the 1890's, which is significant perhaps since it was in that decade that Reconstruction equalities were erased and Jim Crow entrenched.

Materials of inquiry into the question are not confined to English. An 1808 Paris survey is entitled (in French), *Of the Literature of the Negroes; Or Research into their Intellectual and Moral Faculties, Followed by Notices of the Lives and Works of Negroes Who Have Distinguished Themselves in the Sciences, Letters, and Arts*, by Henri Grégoire, Constitutional Bishop of Blois. Perhaps one of the Negroes mentioned in this tome is Benjamin Banneker, the early nineteenth-century astronomer and mathematician who persuaded Thomas Jefferson to reconsider his opinion that Negroes were an

<sup>2</sup> Serial publications are counted as one item in this survey, regardless of the number of separately bound volumes in a given serial.

inferior race. At any rate, the Fund has purchased several items relating to Banneker. There are many other memoirs, biographies, and autobiographies of Negroes who have distinguished themselves. A typical title is *From Slavery to Wealth: the Life of Scott Bond*, by Daniel A. Rudd. And of course there are numbers of works by and about such well-known figures as Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. DuBois, Carter G. Woodson, and the outstanding American Negro poet, Paul Laurence Dunbar, although the latter was born and reared in Ohio.

But, as already indicated, any Negro material is considered as contributing to understanding the South. Moreover, in the case of Mr. Dunbar, he was the son of plantation slaves; and he met the widow of Jefferson Davis at a social event in Newport, R. I., surely one of the notable social encounters in American history; furthermore, he lectured at Hampton Institute, the noted center for Negro education in one of the oldest towns in the United States at the tip of Virginia's historic peninsula.

Hampton Institute, like other Negro educational institutions, is well represented by fund acquisitions: histories of the colleges, catalogs, commencement addresses, lecture series—much the same sort of material that has been gathered for white southern educational institutions. In addition, there are numerous general surveys of Negro education, of what has been accomplished, and of their education as a social problem.

There is a wealth of other material not directly concerned with the main slavery and slavery controversy classifications, as, for example, a study of insanity among ante-bellum free Negroes; the diary of William Johnson, wealthy free Negro of ante-bellum Natchez; and many other free Negro items, both ante- and post-bellum. The scandals of lynching and Negro "serfdom" in the post-bellum South are well-covered. Pleasanter sides of recent southern Negro history include studies of religious work among Negroes, and of Negro fraternal organizations. The Fund has generally collected not only objective studies but also internal source materials for subjects embraced. Thus there are not only critical surveys of Negro fraternal organizations, but materials produced by such organizations, as, for example, the constitution and by-laws of the General Grand United Order of Brothers and Sisters of Love and

Charity in the United States and the Grand Republic of Liberia, New Orleans, 1893. Negro religious studies encompass broad surveys such as a study of the Negro community within American Protestantism and special studies of particular denominations or activities; also lives and sermons of renowned Negro preachers like John Jasper and Mrs. Amanda Smith.

But religion and the Negro are far more heavily represented in the slavery connection than in any other, which brings us to consider the categories constituting the great bulk of Negro materials: slavery as an institution and slavery as controversy and a cause of the Civil War. The distinction between these two, although in the case of some works quite plain, in that of others is very difficult to define. Thus both categories include masses of antislavery materials.

Contemporary views and retrospective studies of slavery as an institution abound, the former usually by British or northern witnesses, such famous commentators as Harriet Martineau, Fanny Kemble, Frederick Law Olmsted, and by many less well-remembered observers; the latter by competent modern scholars such as U. B. Phillips, W. E. Dodd, Frederic Bancroft, Charles S. Sydnor, and many others whose reputations are less well-established. Here again the great value of the Fund has been to make possible the collection of large numbers of obscure works, rather than merely the standard and classic items which any large library would contain. Original or profound research must carry the student beyond the digests of others, however competent they may be.

Practically all the contemporary material purporting to study slavery as an institution is interested, i.e., in attacking or defending it. This is of course true of the works of such famous travelers as Olmsted; and it can be inferred as true from the titles of most of the less noted works, such as Philo Tower's *Slavery Unmasked: Three Years in the Southern States* (Philadelphia, 1851), or *A Defence of Negro Slavery as It Exists in the United States* by Matthew Estes, (Montgomery, Alabama, 1846). As in all collections of attacks on and defenses of slavery, the critical materials far outnumber the apologetic.

Shifting southern attitudes toward slavery may be traced in the works of different members of the illustrious Williamsburg Tucker family, St. George, George, and Beverley, who, each according to

his lights, wrote, respectively, a plan for emancipation, a prediction of an inevitable socio-economic extinction of slavery, and a spirited, positive-good defense of the institution. Works of each have been acquired by the Fund. Fund purchases often reveal that works which have survived in fame are examples of types which were common. Thus a forgotten author, Thomas Ewbank, who had an optimistic faith in machinery, wrote *Inorganic Forces Ordained to Supersede American Slavery*, exemplifying a group of hopeful compositions which looked to economic or other factors to eliminate the "peculiar institution."

The Fund did not confine its purchases in this category to the United States. There is a great quantity of material, mostly contemporary, appraising slavery in the British West Indies, and some in other slaveholding regions such as the Spanish and French West Indies and Brazil. West Indian slavery is viewed, like our own, far more frequently in disfavor than otherwise, reflecting no doubt the better organization and more zealous spirit of the critics in Britain as well as in this country. British emancipation in 1833 stimulated visits by American abolitionists to the British West Indies, to report the results and show that emancipation would be neither dangerous nor uneconomic. The Fund has acquired a number of such reports.

The protracted trans-Atlantic movement to free the slaves can be thoroughly documented from Fund procurements. The titles of speeches, tracts, sermons, polemics seem to make vibrant the great figures of the movement: in Britain, Wilberforce, Clarkson, Ramsay, Zachary Macaulay, Sharpe, Brougham, James and George Stephen, Bishop Porteus, Buxton; in America, Benezet, Weld, Garrison, the Tappans, the Grimke sisters, Birney, Lundy, Orange Scott, Parker, Phillips; in both countries, an host of lesser personalities, to say nothing of myriads of anonymous and pseudonymous contributors to the cause. There are files of proceedings and reports of the antislavery societies, national, regional, and local. The development of the campaign in Britain was one of the first great examples of systematic propaganda and organized political pressure in modern history. It can be followed from its inception in the ninth decade of the eighteenth century, through British emancipation, and on to the British interest in non-empire abolition until after the American Civil War. The tremendous expansion of the American

movement after about 1830 is indicated by the proliferation of titles after that date.

Many items suggest the connection between the British and American impulses. Examples are British and American editions of Benjamin Godwin's *Letters on Slavery*, or Zachary Macaulay's and Macall Medford's studies of the institution in the West Indies and the United States; interchanges on slavery between Quakers, Methodists, and Anglicans of the two nations; the reprint of the speeches of William Wilberforce by the American Tract Society in 1846; reports of American participation in the World Antislavery Convention in London, 1840; the speeches of an escaped American slave to Scottish audiences; speeches in Boston to celebrate British emancipation; the reply of the American Antislavery Society to queries from the British and Foreign Antislavery Society; and, sounding the defensive note, an item published in New York so late as 1860 entitled *Sella; American Slavery Distinguished from the Slavery of the English Theorists, and Justified by the Law of Nature* by Samuel Seabury.

The Fund has amassed an impressive collection of antislavery periodical literature. Magazines devoted to the cause have been collected: for some, the complete run of publication, for others, only scattered issues. Beginning with early publications in the South, such as the *Emancipator* of Jonesboro, Tennessee, 1820, and the Baltimore run of Lundy's *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, the collection continues through vociferous northern serials of later decades like the *Antislavery Record*, the *Liberty Almanac*, the *American Antislavery Almanac*, and of course, Garrison's *Liberator*. There is even a publication of the New England Emigrant Aid Society. Also included are such British periodicals as the *London Antislavery Reporter* and *Aborigine's Friend*.

Collections of abolitionist propaganda, such as Weld's *American Slavery as It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses*, as well as contemporary and retrospective accounts of the movement in general, have been purchased. Histories of the movement date from the middle and later decades of the last century and continue down to careful modern treatments like those of Macy and Barnes for the American scene, and Matthiesen and Klingberg for the British. The northern presses in the decades before the Civil War poured out

items of the type indicated by the following intemperate title: *Narrative of the Sufferings of Lewis Clarke, During a Captivity of More than Twenty-five Years Among the Algerines of Kentucky. One of the So-Called Christian States of North America*, Boston, 1845. The Fund has garnered a number of such real or contrived memoirs of slaves or kidnapped free Negroes, and an abundance of frankly fictional material of the genre of Mrs. Stowe's immortal *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. A somewhat lurid title in this category, for example is T. M. Baker's *The Slave Lover: or, Pride Humbled*, Boston, 1845.

The emotional climate, north and south, of the era of the burgeoning antislavery crusade could be studied from the ample store of speeches, tracts, sermons, and editorial opinions in reaction to such spectacular events as the Lovejoy murder, the rendition of Anthony Burns, exploits of the Underground Railroad, southern Post Office confiscation of abolitionist materials, and John Brown's raid; or to the fateful series of political developments such as the annexation of Texas, the gag-rule controversy, the great compromises, the Kansas-Nebraska act, and the Dred Scott decision. This category includes many reprints of congressional speeches.

Southern participation in the great crusade, as reflected by Littlefield Fund procurements, is of course mainly defensive, although on the anti-slavery side there are numerous Negro colonization items of southern origin, and, in the early phase, some outright advocates of emancipation. The Fund has provided in the matter of proslavery writings the usual broad topical balance: contemporary rationalizations and modern monographic studies, British as well as American. Contemporary vindications are by noted apologists like Thomas R. Dew and William Harper, and by such obscure apologists as the author of *Abolitionism Exposed; with a Plan for the Abolishing of the American Antislavery Society*, by "A Tennessean," 1838. British defenders of slavery are represented by speeches of Charles Ellis, Sir Thomas Plummer, Henry Dundas, and other parliamentary champions of the West India interest.

Leading defense themes are often suggested by the titles. We see the counter-attack motif in the following: *The Devil in America: A Dramatic Satire. Spirit Rapping; Mormonism; Women's Rights Conventions; Harper's Ferry Raid; and Black Republicanism. De-*

*feat of Satan and Final Triumph of the Gospel*, by Lacon (pseud.). This kind of defense, which justified the South by comparing conditions with the North, reached refinement in the works of George Fitzhugh. But most numerous among contemporary materials in defense of slavery are those whose titles suggest a religious character. Pseudonymous Doulophilus, publishing in 1846 in Beaufort, South Carolina, was typical in his *Slave-holding Proved to be Just and Right by a Demonstration from the Word of God*. Perhaps the summit of clerical defense of slavery was reached by two eminent Presbyterian ministers, H. T. Thornwell and B. M. Palmer, whose works have been purchased.

Christianity was utilized by defender and attacker in a kind of debate published in Philadelphia in 1849 which included "A Southern Farmer's" *Bondage a Moral Institution, Sanctioned by Scripture of the Old and New Testaments*, versus William H. Brisbane's *Slaveholding Examined by the Light of the Holy Bible*. The prominence of religion in attacks on slavery is even more marked than in apologies for the institution. For every southern item of scriptural justification, there are at least several northern items of Christian condemnation. Antislavery sermons emanated in great quantity from British and American pulpits: Anglican, Congregational, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist. Northern synods, presbyteries, dioceses, and conventions addressed their southern counterparts, and sometimes received rejoinders. An item typical of such material in the collection is the letter from a wistful Cumberland Presbyterian pastor of Ohio to his *former* congregation in Virginia, the sub-title indicating quite clearly why he lost his congregation. But slavery got some religious support from the North, as exemplified by a scriptural justification from a New York Dutch Reformed publication of the 1850's. Perhaps cognizance of their brethren's attitude in South Africa was in the mind of its authors. The religious controversy, like that of the whole antislavery conflict, was adumbrated first in Britain. Several titles indicate that the same scriptural arguments were being used in England in the 1790's.

The slave trade is another important Negro category furnished by the Fund with a considerable literature. As usual, able modern studies are listed, and a quantity of contemporary descriptions and accounts, mostly of the type calculated to draw attention to the

horrors of the Middle Passage, the barbarization of Africa, and the deleterious moral effects of the trade upon its participants. There appear to be considerably more British than American items relating to the maritime slave trade, which is not surprising in view of the long-sustained policy of the British government directed toward its suppression. Tangential items dealing with the assault upon the trade among the Barbary states in the early nineteenth-century, and with Egypt, Arabia, and Turkey after the American Civil War, are included.

The second salient feature of the history of the South, its war for independence, has been given by the fund the same wide and diverse attention as have the Negro and slavery. Numerically, the Civil War has received far greater increment than have the former topics, perhaps reflecting the insatiable demand for and the incredible supply of Civil War materials which have kept up steadily ever since the conflict. At least 2240 items of such material have been added by the Fund, not including slavery-as-a-cause items, nor causation studies limited to the events of specific administrations, which have their place in the historical periods classifications.

Several Civil War and Confederate bibliographies and dozens of general histories form the nucleus of this vast assortment, the general histories ranging from those published in 1866 to very recent text-like studies. The disappearance of the word "rebellion," or "conspiracy," or some other invidious term, from titles of northern publications after the turn of the century indicates the change to a more objective historical approach to the subject. There are also histories written from the Confederate point of view, as Edward A. Pollard's *A Southern History of the War*, and several by British and French historians or observers, such as the *Histoire de la Guerre Civile en Amérique*, published in Paris, 1874, by Louis Philippe . . . d'Orléans, Comte de Paris. General compendiums published just after the war evince the widespread curiosity about all aspects of the conflict which must then have been prevalent. An example is R. A. Campbell's *The Rebellion Register: Persons and Places, Important Dates, Documents, and Statistics, Military and Political; Proclamations, Political Platforms, Grant's Report, etc.*

A category within the Civil War classification is secession and Confederacy, an inevitable focus for fund acquisitions. Comprised

are secession studies; histories of the Confederacy; biographical and other matter concerning such inveterately Confederate figures as Rhett, Yancey, and Ruffin; and some forty Jefferson Davis items, including lives, speeches, genealogy, the ten-volume *Collected Papers*, and funeral orations on the death of *President* Davis delivered throughout the South in 1889. There are studies of the Confederate "home front," foreign relations, constitutional structure, politics; and specialized studies of conscription, finance, disloyalty, communications, and other problems of the hard-pressed southern republic. Separately published Confederate state papers embrace congressional proceedings, congressional committee reports, cabinet department reports, presidential messages, and other governmental documents, and there is a collection by that indefatigable compiler, James D. Richardson, *Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy, including Diplomatic Correspondence*. Of special interest in the study of slavery is the reprint of debates over an 1865 proposal to arm slaves. There are several Confederate and Confederate veterans' magazines, including a June-December 1863 file of a Richmond periodical, *Confederate Record: News, History, Literature*. To match the several northern compendiums, a *Confederate Handbook* was published in New Orleans in 1900.

For every topical study relating to special problems of the Confederacy there are usually several relating to similar problems of the Union, and in addition, studies of civil rights problems in the North during the war, and of the northern attitude toward slavery and emancipation. Great Britain and the American Civil War constitutes another division of materials, which embraces efforts of both sides to win British support, the official diplomatic relations between Great Britain and the United States, essays and speeches of John Bright, John Stuart Mill, and other Union-sympathizing British officials, and the activities of southern agents among British ship-builders and cotton factors. For Lincoln the Fund has added ninety-seven items to the Library holdings, including standard and little-known biographies, memorial tributes, collections of speeches and papers, and studies of such special aspects as Judd Stewart's *Lincoln and the New York Herald* and Emanuel Hertz' *Lincoln and the Jews*.

By far the most numerous contributions by the fund to the Civil

War classification are those primarily military in character, as would be expected. There are strictly military histories of the war; histories of the armies of the Potomac and of Northern Virginia; histories of battles (twenty-eight for Gettysburg) and of campaigns, of regional military operations, of military operations within given periods. Contemporary documentation includes battle reports from various commanders to U.S.A. and C.S.A. war departments, I.G. and A.G. reports, files of general orders and other military instructions, and reprints of newspaper reporting of the war.

Robert E. Lee is featured in fifty-three items, ranging from Freeman's monumental study through all manner of less ambitious biographies down to sentimental treatment of his "heart," "character," and so on; a life of Lee for children, and considerably more memorial tributes than were collected for Jefferson Davis. For Grant the Fund has acquired twenty-eight works, located, however, not in the Civil War classification, but by a perhaps ironical turn of the cataloguer's discipline, under "Reconstruction and Civil Service Reform." Stonewall Jackson is represented by eighteen items. Other important figures from both sides are represented by biographies and memoirs: Ewell, Early, Bragg, Forrest, Beauregard, the Johnstons; McClellan, Meade, McDowell, Thomas, Sherman, Sheridan, and many lesser generals, colonels, majors. There are nearly four hundred personal narratives, reminiscences, letters, diaries, and like accounts of the war from men in all ranks: one dreary title recalls *Fourteen hundred and ninety-one Days in the Confederate Army*, by William H. Heartsill, and another complains about a matter that has raised objections in subsequent wars, *Red Tape and Pigeon Hole Generals*, by a Citizen Soldier, (Henry Morford) New York, 1864. There are several accounts of notorious Confederate guerillas, of spies and scouts, Union and Confederate, and observations by French and British witnesses like Chaval and Freemantle.

An important section of the Civil War military category is that filled by regimental and other outfit histories. The roles of proud units such as the Richmond Light Infantry Blues and the Edisto Rifles and some 370 other outfits, south and north, have been purchased by the Fund. A relatively weak category is the marine and naval, of which the Fund has procured only about seventy-five items. These include interesting titles, like Warren D. Crandall, *The*

*History of the Ram Fleet and the Mississippi Marine Brigade in the War for the Union*, Harpur A. Gosnell, *Guns on the Western Waters*, and George Henry Preble, *The Chase of the Rebel Steamer Oreto into the Bay of Mobile*. There are also recent and older chronicles of the *Merrimac* and *Monitor*, the cruises of the *Alabama* and other Confederate raiders and blockade runners, and biographies of Admirals Farragut and Semmes. The title of one contemporary pamphlet asks the question, "Are the Southern Privateersmen Pirates?"

The Fund has procured almost as many prisoner-of-war items as marine and naval. Numerous narrations by veterans of Libby, Andersonville, Florence, and the Richmond Tobacco Warehouse prisons published during the war make one suspect that they had propaganda as well as sensational value; and there are some accounts by southerners reporting their experiences in Fort Lafayette and other northern prisons. Titles reveal that many on both sides are incriminatory: R. H. Little, *A year of Starvation Amidst Plenty, or How A Confederate Soldier Suffered Hunger and Cruelty*, and Frank E. Moran, *Confederate Bastilles*. Medical history, women's work, home front, and chaplains' work are documented, the latter, for example, by an opus called *Christ in the Camp: Or Religion in Lee's Army*; by J. William Jones.

Fund interest in literary treatment of the war seems to have been centered mostly on contemporary or near contemporary productions rather than modern works which are acquired for the Library from other sources. Acquisitions include a great deal of what must be very bad poetry, like Nora Fontaine M. Davidson's *Cullings from the Confederacy*, or Duval Porter's *Lyrics of the Lost Cause*, and some inflated prose, like Lloyd Tilghman Everett's *For Maryland's Honor: A Story of the War for Southern Independence*, and *Clairmonde: A Tale of New Orleans Life and of the Present War*, by "A Member of the New Orleans Washington Artillery," Richmond, 1863. But such materials are of course valuable to students of literary, intellectual, and social history. A miscellaneous and concluding category which the fund has stimulated contains pictorial histories, war and memorial addresses, descriptive matter concerning battle flags, memorial parks and cemeteries, and reunions of Civil War veterans.

This brief survey will indicate something of the richness of the materials acquired by the Littlefield Fund for Southern History in three major areas. Other topics covered by the Fund's acquisitions may be mentioned (many of them of course related in various ways to the controversial subjects discussed above): religion, travel and description, agriculture, business, transportation, law, medicine, the fine arts, literature, and local, regional and general American history. All contribute to the continuing achievement of the Fund's original purpose—"the full and impartial study of the South and its part in American history."

# American First Editions at TxU

## XI. William Dean Howells (1837-1920)

PHILIP GRAHAM

HOWELLS scholars are fortunate in possessing an accurate and complete bibliography of their subject, Gibson and Arms' *A Bibliography of the Writings of William Dean Howells*, published in 1948 by the New York Public Library. Measured by this list, the holdings of the Mirabeau B. Lamar Library at the University of Texas are remarkable certainly in quantity, and to a less extent also in quality.

Of the total 127 titles in book form written in whole by Howells, the Library has 117, in most instances from two to five copies of each title, usually representing different editions. This list includes all the novels, all the major volumes of criticism and of travel, and all the volumes of stories. The Library does not have these titles: *Echoes of Harper's Ferry* (1860, poem), *The Battle in the Clouds* (1864, song), *The First Cricket* (1876), *A Previous Engagement* (1897, play), *Stories of Ohio* (1897), *An Indian Giver* (1900, play), *The Mulberries in Pay's Garden* (1907, poem), *Buying a Horse* (1916), *Immortality and Sir Oliver Lodge* (1920), *Eighty Years and After* (1921).

More than ninety per cent of Howells' writings appeared first in magazines or newspapers. Of the sixty-four periodicals in which he published, the Library has files for all except these twelve (the dates following titles indicate the years in which Howells published in each magazine): *American Fabian* (1898), *American Hebrew* (1885), *Author* (1889, 1891), *Book News Monthly* (1908), *Booklover's* (1902), *Current Literature* (1898), *Lamp* (1904), *National Era* (1855, 1858), *Odd-Fellows' Casket and Review* (1859), *Prang's Chromo* (1868), *Saturday Press* (1859-60, 1865), and *Success* (1898). Of the nineteen newspapers in which Howells published, the Library has all except these: *Ashtabula Sentinel* (1853-66), *Balloon Post* (1871), *Boston Advertiser* (1863-65, 1888), *Cleveland Herald* (1858), *Daily Tatler* (1896), New-

ton *Journal* (1883), *Ohio Farmer* (1854-55, 1857-58), *Ohio State Journal* (1852, 1855, 1858-62), and *Philadelphia Press* (1894).

The Library's holdings of first editions by Howells in volume form may be summarized as follows:

Of the novels the Library has first editions of *A Chance Acquaintance* (1873), *A Foregone Conclusion* (1875), *The Lady of the Aroostook* (1879), *Dr. Breen's Practice* (1881), *A Modern Instance* (1881), *A Woman's Reason* (1883), *The Rise of Silas Lapham* (1885, both first and second issues; also first English ed., Edinburgh, 1885), *The Minister's Charge* (1887), *April Hopes* (1888), *Annie Kilburn* (1889), *The Shadow of a Dream* (1890, Harper's Franklin Square Library, paper backs rebound; also first cloth ed., 1890), *An Imperative Duty* (1892), *The Coast of Bohemia* (1893), *The World of Chance* (1893), *The Day of Their Wedding* (1896), *An Open-Eyed Conspiracy* (1897), *The Landlord at Lion's Head* (1897; also the rare 1908 ed. with larger plates, ill. by W. T. Smedley), *The Story of a Play* (1898), *Ragged Lady* (1899), *Their Silver Wedding Journey* (1899, two-vol. ed.; also the first one-vol. ed., 1900), *The Kentons* (1902), *The Son of Royal Langbriith* (1905), *Miss Bellard's Inspiration* (1905), *Through the Eye of the Needle* (1907), *Fennel and Rue* (1908, and also soft cloth-cover ed. of same date), *New Leaf Mills* (1913), *The Leatherwood God* (1916), *The Vacation of the Kelwyns* (1920), and *Mrs. Farrell* (1921).

The Library does not have first editions of these novels: *Their Wedding Journey* (1872; the Library does have the first enlarged ed., 1884, with the "Niagara Revisited" added, and the Augustus Hoppin illustrations; also the first gift-book ed., 1895, with the Clifford Carleton illustrations; also the 1886 and the 1916 eds., both with the Hoppin illustrations), *The Undiscovered Country* (1880), *Indian Summer* (1886); *A Hazard of New Fortunes* (1890; paper backs, one vol.; the Library does have the first ed. in cloth binding, two vols., 1890), *The Quality of Mercy* (1892), *A Traveler from Altruria* (1894), and *Letters Home* (1903).

Of the autobiographical and biographical works, the Library has first editions of *Sketch of the Life and Character of Rutherford B. Hayes . . .* (1876), *A Boy's Town* (1890, first issue with the illus-

tration on p. 4 instead of p. 44), *My Year in a Log Cabin* (1893, Harper's Black and White Series), Howells' father's *Recollections of Life in Ohio* (1895), rev. and ed. by W. D. H.), *Impressions and Experiences* (1896; also first English ed., Edinburgh, 1896), *Mark Twain's 70th Birthday* (1905), *My Mark Twain* (1910), *Years of My Youth* (1916, a composite of certain earlier publications), *The Country Printer* (1916), and *Life in Letters of William Dean Howells* (1928, rebound). The Library does not have the first edition of *Lives and Speeches of Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin* (1860), though it has the 1938 reprint of the Lincoln sections.

Of Howells' volumes of criticism the Library has first editions of *A Little Girl Among the Masters* (1884), *Modern Italian Poets* (1887), *Literary Friends and Acquaintances* (1900, but rebound), *Heroines of Fiction* (1901), *Imaginary Interviews* (1910), and *The Seen and Unseen at Stratford-on-Avon* (1914). The Library does not have first editions of *Criticism and Fiction* (1891), *Literature and Life* (1902), and *My Literary Passions* (1910).

Of Howells' plays (separate volumes) the Library has first editions of *Out of the Question* (1877), *A Counterfeit Presentment* (1877, Black and Red Series), *The Sleeping Car* (1883), *The Register* (1884), *The Elevator* (1885), *The Garroters* (1886), *A Sea-Change* (1888), *The Albany Depot* (1892), *A Letter of Introduction* (1892, Black and White Series), *Evening Dress* (1893, Black and White Series), *The Unexpected Guests* (1893, Black and White Series), *The Mouse Trap* (1894, Black and White Series), *Five O'Clock Tea* (1894, Black and White Series), *A Likely Story* (1894, Black and White Series), *Room Forty-five* (1900), *Bride Roses* (1900), and *Parting Friends* (1910). The Library does not have first editions of *The Parlor Car* (1876) and *Minor Dramas* (1907).

Of Howells' poetry, the Library has first editions of *Poems of Two Friends* (1860), *Poems* (1873), and *The Mother and the Father* (1909).

Of Howells' stories and sketches, the Library has first editions of *No Love Lost* (1869), *Suburban Sketches* (1871; also first enlarged edition, 1872), *A Day's Pleasure* (1876, printed separately from *Suburban Sketches*), *A Fearful Responsibility and Other Stories*

(1881), *Three Villages* (1884), *The Shadow of a Dream* (1890, rebound in boards over original paper covers; also first ed. in cloth, 1890), *Christmas Day Every Day . . .* (1893), *Stops of Various Quills* (1895, ills. by Howard Pyle; but not the rarer second ed. limited to 500 copies), *A Parting and a Meeting* (1896), *Questionable Shapes* (1903), and *Between the Dark and the Daylight* (1907). The Library does not have first editions of *A Pair of Patient Lovers* (1901), *The Flight of Pony Baker* (1902), and *The Daughter of the Storage* (1916).

Next to the novels, the travel books constitute the Library's richest holdings in Howells. Among the first editions here are *Venetian Life* (1866, the first American ed.; also the second American ed., 1867; also the first enlarged ed. of 1872; also the 250-copy numbered ed. of 1892; also the large paper autographed numbered ed. of 1907 ill. in color by Edmund Garrett), *Italian Journeys* (1867; also eds. of 1883, 1886, and 1901, the last with the Joseph Pennell ills.), *Tuscan Cities* (1886, with the Pennell ills.), *A Little Swiss Sojourn* (1892, Black and White Series, with Pennell ills.), *The Niagara Book* (1893, containing Howells' "Niagara First and Last," ill. by Harry Fenn), *London Films* (1906, ill. by Sydney Adamson; also same with *Certain Delightful English Towns* added, 1911), *Certain Delightful English Towns* (1906), *Roman Holidays and Others* (1908, ill. by A Castaigne and "DOS"), *Familiar Spanish Travels* (1913), *Seven English Cities* (1909, ill. by Ernest Haskell and others), *Hither and Thither in Germany* (paper covers, 1920, but rebound; scenes condensed from *Their Silver Wedding Journey*, 1899), and *Reports from Venice to the State Department* for 1862 and 1864, but not these reports for 1863, 1865, and 1866. We lack also the first British edition of *Venetian Life* (1866).

The Library has first editions of two books on which Howells collaborated: *The Whole Family* (1908, with Henry James and ten others) and *In After Days, Thoughts on the Future Life* (1910, with Henry James and seven others). It has first editions of the eight "Harper's Novelettes," edited by Howells and Henry Mills Alden (1906-1907). It has also first editions of the books for which Howells wrote prefaces or introductions as listed in the re-

cently published anthology, *Prefaces to Contemporaries* (ed. by George Arms, W. M. Gibson, and F. C. Marston, 1957).

The Library is fortunate in possessing all the full-volume biographies of Howells, including those by Alexander Harvey (1917), D. G. Cooke (1922), O. W. Firkins (1924), Clara and Rudolf Kirk (an anthology with excellent introductory essay, 1950), James Woodress (1952), Everett Carter (1954), and Edwin Cady (1956). The definitive critical biography of Howells is yet to appear.

# Norton's *Literary Register*: A View of American Publishing in 1855

LEROY H. LINDER

THE OFT-QUOTED STATEMENT "The pen is mightier than the sword" may have been the inspiration for a publisher's device stamped in gold on the cover of a slim volume in the University of Texas Library. This device, possibly unique, consists of a bell-like mass labelled "Liberty" from which is hung an apothecary's scale holding on one pan a feather pen and on the other a sword. As the reader has probably guessed, the pen outweighs the sword.

The volume introduced above is an item from the Palm Library donated to the University of Texas in 1897.<sup>1</sup> The last of a series of four similar annual lists, it is a bibliography of American publications issued during the year 1855. Charles B. Norton, the originator and publisher of the series, entitled this volume *Norton's Literary Register; or, Annual Book List, for 1856*.<sup>2</sup> Though not extremely rare, the complete series of these four lists may be found in less than ten libraries in this country.<sup>3</sup> The University of Texas Library is fortunate to have a fine copy of the last, and probably the best, of the volumes in this series.

A casual glance at this volume offers little to invite prolonged study on the part of the reader. Swante Palm's signature on the title-page proclaims it as his book. Within the volume are numerous

<sup>1</sup> A sketch of Swante Palm's life and some information about his library of approximately 10,000 volumes may be found in *Notes of a Texas Book-Collector, 1850-1899*. Austin: Texas Book Club, 1950.

<sup>2</sup> The series, usually cited as *Norton's Literary Register, 1852-1856*, contained the following successive titles: *Norton's Literary Almanac for 1852*; *Norton's Literary Register and Bookbuyer's Almanac for 1853*; *Norton's Literary and Educational Register for 1854*; and the one cited in the text. No issue was published in 1855.

<sup>3</sup> In Chicago, for example, the Newberry Library lacks the issue at TxU and the University of Chicago possesses only the 1854 volume.

checks and a few cryptic notes which appear to be in Palm's handwriting. Certain book titles listed in the volume are marked with a single check, others with two, three, or even four checks. Books of description and travel, illustrated works, biographies, literature, and poetry were most frequently checked. Next came books of history, theology, church history, literary criticism, and natural science. The type of item checked most frequently (description and travel) usually received only one or two checks while certain items in history and theology and one bibliography received four checks. This suggests that the number of checks placed by an individual item represented Palm's estimate of the worth or desirability of the item. On the other hand, the number of items of any one type checked indicates, presumably, Palm's taste in books. Interestingly, Palm's preferences as revealed by these checks bear a fairly close relationship with the known composition of his own library.<sup>4</sup> Thus, if it is correct that these are Palm's own marks, this is further evidence of the literary taste and collecting interests of this early Texas book-collector.

In addition to the local significance of this work with its added markings this volume is also of importance because it is a nearly complete bibliography of the offerings of the American book trade during the year 1855.

At the beginning of the volume is a short preface dated "Providence, February 1st, 1856," and initialled "R. A. G." These initials signified Reuben A. Guild, the compiler of the bibliography. Guild (1822-1899) served as Librarian of Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island, from 1848 to 1893. His *Librarian's Manual*, published by Norton in 1858, was considered a standard work for many years. He did other writing also, mainly historical and biographical, was active at the historic Librarian's Conference of 1853, and was one of the founders of the American Library Association in 1876. Among his progressive innovations was his practice of giving library users free access to all of the library's shelves, an unprecedented thing in his day.

In the preface Guild stated that the list contained the titles of most of the works that had been published in this country in 1855,

<sup>4</sup> Ransom, H. R. "The Booklore of Swante Palm," *Library Chronicle of the University of Texas*, IV (1952), 103-11.

thus serving as "a fair index of our literary activity, as well as of the tastes and reading habits of the community." He also wrote, with pardonable pride, "As a good Catalog has been happily denominated 'The Eye of the Library,' so this Annual Book List may be denominated the Eye of the Book Trade in the United States." Guild's progressiveness was evident in his comment that "the titles are given under the author's name, when known, and with sufficient fullness to indicate the work. In order to aid the memory and facilitate research, cross references have been multiplied, especially in popular fictitious works, which being oftentimes ephemeral in their character, are known by their titles rather than by the names of their authors." The alphabetical index of subjects which he provided at the end of the volume was a convenience to the user.

The main body of the bibliography consists of a single alphabet of entries arranged by the last names of authors or titles when the author's names were not known. Following the name of the author and/or the title, the entry usually includes the edition, size of volume, pagination or number of volumes, price, and publisher's name. Occasionally, information about the type of binding, the number or type of illustrations, or a series note is added.

The alphabetical index of subjects covers non-fiction materials under fairly broad headings such as Agriculture, American Literature, Arithmetic, History, or Spiritualism. More specific headings, often in the form of inverted titles, are also used, both as subdivisions under the broad headings and as independent headings.

The bibliography contains 2146 entries of which 1864 are for items with a price and 282 are either privately published or without a price. Approximately 1940 entries list new publications—books, pamphlets, or periodicals—while the remainder are simply new editions.

The prices charged for books published during 1855 ranged from two cents for a small tract to \$28.00 for an elaborately illustrated Bible. Only 44 items were priced at \$7.00 or more and these consisted mainly of Bibles, legal publications, medical works, and a few books on architecture, natural science, and literature. The mean or average price was \$1.36; the modal or most common price was \$1.00; and the median or central price was also \$1.00. The modal price of \$1.00 was listed for 298 items; 75 cents was next with 254

items; 50 cents next with 208 items; and \$1.25 next with 181 items. The distribution of prices, when plotted on a graph, revealed frequency peaks at the following amounts: 13 cents, 25 cents, 38 cents, 50 cents, 63 cents, 75 cents, \$1.00, \$1.25, \$1.50, \$1.75, and \$2.00. The clusters at such odd amounts as 13 cents, 38 cents, and 63 cents seem unusual to the present-day bookbuyer. The explanation may lie in our heritage of monetary values which derive from the old Mexican or Spanish *real*, 1/8th of a dollar, which is retained in our speech as the "bit," presumably a corruption in the rendering of the Spanish word *pieza*. Although a coin designated a "bit" was never minted in the United States, its equivalent value apparently became a commonplace in business as well as in speech. In the latter it persists today in the slang terms "two bits," "four bits," and "six bits." This bibliography suggests that, in the book trade at least, the business usage of this denomination was not uncommon in the United States in 1855.

The total number of publishers listed is 303 which means that the average number of books issued per publisher in the United States in 1855 was approximately seven. One hundred years later, in 1955, the number of publishers had more than doubled and their average output was more than sixteen books a year. In 1855 the offerings from the individual publishers ranged from a low of one item to a high of 110 items, while one hundred years later the range was from a single item to many hundreds of items from some publishers. As noted above, the average price of a book in 1855 was \$1.36. A century later the average book sold for about \$4.25.

In 1855 the leading publishers and their output for that year were as follows: D. Appleton and Company, New York, 110; Harper and Brothers, New York, 78; Edward Dunigan and Brother, New York, 75; Miller, Orton, and Mulligan, New York, 68; J. B. Lippincott and Company, Philadelphia, 64; John P. Jewett and Company, Boston, 64; Ticknor and Fields, Boston, 52; and J. Applegate and Company, Cincinnati, 51.

Of the publishers active in 1855 only a handful were still in business one hundred years later. By comparing the listings in this volume with the *Publishers' Trade List Annual* for 1955 the following firms, given with their founding dates and name changes, were found to be common to both lists:

American Baptist Publication Society, 1824, now Judson Press  
D. Appleton and Company, 1825, now Appleton-Century-Crofts,  
Inc.  
A. S. Barnes and Company, 1838  
Blanchard and Lea, 1785, now Lea and Febiger  
Dutton and Wentworth, 1852, now E. P. Dutton and Company  
Harper and Brothers, 1817  
J. B. Lippincott and Company, 1792  
Little, Brown and Company, 1837  
Nelson and Company, 1854, now Thomas Nelson and Sons  
Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1838, now Westminster Press  
and John Knox Press (since 1938 this latter has served as the  
southern branch)  
G. P. Putnam and Company, 1838, now Putnam's Sons, Inc.  
Charles Scribner, 1846, now Charles Scribner's Sons  
Smithsonian Institution, 1846  
Ticknor and Fields, 1832, later Osgood, now Houghton Mifflin  
Company  
John Wiley, 1807, now John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

In addition to the above group, several other firms not now in  
existence or listed in the *Publishers' Trade List Annual* are of suffi-  
cient importance to merit mention. Among these are the following:

American Tract Society, 1825, discontinued book publishing in  
1948  
Samuel French, 1850, still publishes plays  
D. and J. Sadlier and Company, 1832, now William H. Sadlier,  
Inc.  
B. Westermann and Company, 1848, liquidated in 1942.

Among the many interesting items published in the United  
States in 1855 were some which bear a special relationship to certain  
present-day publications. One of these, Bartlett's *Collection of Fa-  
miliar Quotations* appeared in its first edition under the imprint of  
John Bartlett in 1855. At that time it was a volume of 302 pages  
selling for 75 cents. In view of the fame of this work it is easy to  
conclude that of the five publications which Bartlett published in  
that year this was easily the best. The thirteenth or centennial ed-  
ition of Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations* appeared in 1955 as a volume  
of 1068 pages selling for \$10.00. Though the publishing activities

of Bartlett's firm have long since ceased, the fame of this work may be expected to continue for many years.

In 1855 a "Mrs. Manners," identified as the wife of the Reverend William C. Richards, wrote a volume entitled *At Home and Abroad; or, How to Behave*. Evidently "Mrs. Manners" was the Emily Post or Amy Vanderbilt of her day.

Oliver Ditson, the music publisher, was represented by five items: a glee book, an opera score (Donizetti's *Lucia de Lammermoor*), a volume of hymns, *Irish Melodies* by Thomas Moore, and *Method for the Pianoforte* by A. E. Müller; any of which one might encounter in a good music store today.

*Lippincott's Pronouncing Gazetteer of the World . . . containing . . . nearly One Hundred Thousand Places* listed at six dollars in 1855. Its modern descendant, the *Columbia-Lippincott Gazetteer* published in 1952, contains slightly more than 130,000 names but its cost is \$65.

Longfellow's *Song of Hiawatha*, which first appeared in 1855, is included in this bibliography as a publication of Ticknor and Fields, one of the major publishers of that time. On the other hand, Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* was overlooked by the bibliographer. The fact that Whitman published this himself and, as suggested, set part of the type himself, may account for the fact that *Leaves of Grass* was not included with the book trade items of that year. Whitman's later fame assured his writings a place in trade bibliographies in subsequent years.

B. Westermann and Company, founded by a German immigrant, was represented in the early list by six publications. Two typical ones were Schmidt's *Erstes Lesebuch* and Woodbury's *Method for Germans to Learn English*.

John Wiley, now famous for his excellent technical publications, offered only three items of which Smith's *Idea of Christian Theology as a System* was fairly representative.

The above examples of items in *Norton's Literary Register* are only a few of many which might be identified by the careful reader or student who wished to study this bibliography as a mirror of publication activity and reader interest in the United States in the mid-1850's. Further detailed study of individual items or of the list as a whole might well be profitable.

Charles B. Norton, who was responsible for the issuance of this volume and its predecessors, served the book interests in Boston and later in New York as a literary and purchasing agent for libraries. In addition to the volumes already mentioned in this paper Norton published an edition of the well-known *Poole's Index to Periodicals*, a periodical entitled *Norton's Literary Advertiser*, later changed to *Norton's Literary Gazette*, and also an occasional publication called *Norton's Literary Letter*. A man of boundless energy, he served as Commissioner to the World Fair in London in 1850, as juror to the New York World Fair in 1853, as promoter of several other international expositions, and finally, at the time of his death, as a member of the Fair Committee of the World's Columbian Exposition.

Norton's major contribution to American book trade bibliography and to scholarship is found in the issues of his *Literary Register*, of which the last is the most complete and the most accurate. These volumes served as useful tools for the book sellers, librarians, and scholars of his time. Today, these listings are valuable sources of information about editions of various authors, about publications on specific subjects, about the output of publishers of the time, about book prices, and about readers' interests in the 1850's. The bibliography is also useful to supplement and verify information located elsewhere. In these and other ways *Norton's Literary Register* may serve the student of American literature, history, economics, or culture.

# Research Materials on Early German Settlers in Texas

LEONARD B. PLUMMER

SINCE THE fall of 1957, the writer has been working on a research project in the Department of Germanic Languages at the University of Texas, to collect and study material on the early German influence in Texas. The project deals especially with the early German settlements and settlers in Texas, and their contribution to Texas as a part of the great american heritage.

While there is considerable material on this subject in the Archives of the University of Texas, there is also much material still available in private hands. Most of the material now in the Archives was loaned to the University by relatives and descendants of early German settlers, and photostatic copies were made by the University. These copies were then transcribed in German; in some instances translations were made into English. All were bound in permanent form so as to be maintained for generations to come. The bound copies were then filed in the Archives of the University.

We hope that the same can be done for other material which is not now in the University Archives. Perhaps there are letters, manuscripts, and similar material that the present owners would like to have placed in permanent form. Photostatic copies of this material can be made and the originals returned. However, if the donors prefer, the original material can be placed in the University Archives for preservation.

Two large studies and collections have already been made available: *The Inventory of the County Archives of Texas*, and the *Solms-Braunfels Archives*, in addition to smaller collections and compilations.

In the winter of 1935-1936, *The Inventory of the County Archives of Texas* was undertaken. The purpose of this program was to compile inventories of historical materials and other unpublished government documents and records, which provide data for stu-

dents of political, economic, and social history. As part of the program, the historical background of each county was sketched.

Of the 254 counties in Texas, only 47 *Inventories* have been printed. However, *Inventories* for the remaining counties are available in manuscript form. Some of special interest with regard to the early German settlers are those of Austin, Bastrop, Caldwell, Calhoun, Colorado, Comal, De Witt, Fayette, Gillespie, Guadalupe, Victoria, and Washington counties. All material pertaining to these counties is available in the University Archives.

As an example of information on early German settlers, we may cite an account in the *Inventory* of De Witt County of the arrival in 1848 of a German traveler who recorded his impressions of the countryside:

O, the Guadalupe, its water as clear as day, flows ten to twenty feet deep over the rocks. The rocks and the green luxurious plants and fishes and tortoises and alligators appear not as if they were in the water, but rather as if surrounded by green, transparent air, charmingly beautiful! And the trees and the cliffs, how picturesquely they overhang the stream and bathe their feet in the water! There is no more beautiful stream than the Guadalupe! Who could consider the turbid and slimy water of the Rhine beautiful after he has seen the Guadalupe? Here the legends of the water fairies appear natural; and crystal palaces resting on cliffs of glass are easily imagined.

One of the largest completed records in the University Archives is the *Solms-Braunfels Archives*. These comprise some seventy volumes plus six volumes of indices, totalling some 16,670 pages of material, consisting of some 4,867 letters and 234 documents. They were made in 1935-1936 from photostatic copies in the Library of Congress of the *Solms-Braunfels Archiv* in Braunfels, Germany, under the supervision of Professor Rudolph Leopold Biese of the University of Texas.

These *Solms-Braunfels Archives* comprise documents, letters, business accounts, and clippings, relating to the colonization project of the *Verein zum Schutze deutscher Einwanderer in Texas*. They deal with such matters as the formation of the Society for the Protection of German Immigrants in Texas; German settlements in America; reports on voyages and conditions in Texas; requests for

information on Texas immigration, including financial aid to settlers; minutes on sessions of the Board of Directors of the Society for the Protection of German Immigrants in Texas; and the final liquidation of the Society.

Another volume of interest is a compilation entitled the *Prairie Blume Manuscripts*, which was made by Annie Romberg. The Prairie Blume (Prairie Flower) was a social club organized about 1857 under the leadership of Johannes Romberg, on a bluff overlooking La Grange, Fayette County, and on the prairies to the south and southwest. It flourished some fifty years in Fayette County and was probably one of the first literary societies in Texas.

The members of the organization were the young people of the Latin settlement near La Grange. The Latins were so called because they were well educated. They had emigrated from the small principalities of Central Europe to give their children better opportunities for progress and to find in Texas the democracy and freedom that were denied them in Europe.

The Latins were proud of their culture, and spoke of others whose interests were centered mainly in good farming and plenty of bacon in the smoke-house as "Speck Bauern" (bacon farmers). When this expression reached the "bacon farmers," they retorted by calling the Latins "Schwarten Bauern" (bacon rind farmers), this term being symbolical of very plain living; for in spite of their University education, these intellectuals often found it difficult to adjust themselves to new surroundings and achieve well-being. The reason for the organization of the Prairie Blume and the success of the undertaking may be found in the uneventful life of the pioneer times and the hunger for entertainment.

Its members usually wrote upon a subject previously agreed upon. Some of these subjects were the events of a particular Sunday or the significance of Sunday; accounts of short trips; experiences during a journey; humorous events; and hunting experiences. Approximately half of the material in the four available copies are poems. All of this material was turned over to one person who read it to the group; whenever possible, it was handed in early enough for it to be copied, so that even the handwriting would not give a clue as to what any member had contributed.

The families took turn about in entertaining the group. At such

a meeting, the literary program was given first, then refreshments were served, and indoor games or dancing usually ended the evening. There were pianos in the settlement; a good flute player and occasionally a violinist assisted with the music.

The young people used the conventional mode of address "Sie," and were more formal in their intercourse than is customary now. Julius Willrich, riding up to the yard gate, would invite Carl Perlitz, "I have the honor to invite you to the next meeting of the Prairie Blume at our house. . . ." To this Carl would answer in all seriousness, "It is an honor to accept. . . ." And Julius would conclude, "The honor is distinctly ours. . . ."

In another manuscript collection, *Fahrten und Schicksale eines Deutschen in Texas*, Hermann von Ehrenburg tells of his experiences in Louisiana and Texas. There is this interesting glimpse of a visit to a Coffee House in New Orleans on the way to Texas: "Squire," says I, "that is enough, entirely enough entertainment for one evening. It is a most interesting place, this coffee shop, and what a forcible difference between the Fandango in the homeland and the Fandango on the boards of the St. Charles in New Orleans." From Louisiana, he led a company of Germans to Texas and fought against the Mexicans.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, Frederick Olmsted traveled through Arkansas and Texas. At New Braunfels, he found a group of Germans who were called Latins. In Germany, they had been students, doctors, journalists, officers, and priests. They spoke Latin as fluently as German. Very few of them knew English. Their homes were well made and contained libraries, paintings, and works of art. He tells of an evening spent in a home in Sisterdale, near New Braunfels. After supper, numerous neighbors arrived. They passed a merry and most interesting evening. There was waltzing, to the tune of a fine piano. Music of the highest sort, both classic and patriotic, was enjoyed. The principal concerted parts of "Don Giovanni" were given, and all parts were well sustained. After the ladies had retired, the men sang over the whole stack of student songs, until all were young again.

We are certain that many letters lying in attics contain material as interesting as those cited above. We also know that the literary value of much of the early material has been greatly underrated.

Until we have a fuller collection in our Archives, we cannot give a better picture of early life in Texas. Nor can we describe fully the social, intellectual, and political development of our state. Through contributing materials to the Archives, citizens can round out our knowledge of early Texas, and they can keep the achievements of their ancestors alive for posterity.

# Matthew Phipps Shiel: A Collection and Comments

HAROLD W. BILLINGS

1

THE University Rare Book Collections recently purchased 115 volumes of works by M. P. Shiel. This group, formerly in the possession of A. R. Morse, the Shiel bibliographer, is probably the largest institutional collection of books by this author in the world. Twenty-three of the author's thirty-two books are represented in the collection, many in duplicate, some titles in all the various issues, printings, and editions in which they were published. Other books in the group are anthologies in which the writer's stories appeared and works of collaboration.

Who is M. P. Shiel? Thirty years ago Ralph Straus asked the same question in the London *Sunday Times*:

Who, many people have been demanding to know, is M. P. Shiel? . . . Why has nobody "discovered" him before now? The answer is that he has been "discovered" often enough, and the most surprising things have been written about him, but always, in the minds of these critics, there has been the idea: Shiel is probably not everybody's man; he is too gorgeously mad, too aloof from life as most people know it, and sometimes, they have been compelled to admit, his wings have failed him . . . But, at his best, Shiel is like nobody except himself, an out-and-out romantic, as one critic has called him, whose imagination soars to the most splendid heights.

The occasion of Mr. Straus' questions and comments was the reissuing of four Shiel novels in one day of 1929 by the London publisher, Victor Gollancz. There were many other such questions and comments about that time. Hugh Walpole found Shiel "a flaming genius," "the finest romantic writer alive in England today"; H. G. Wells thought him "brilliant" and "colossal"; W. H. Chesson said

"miles of correct sonnets do not sing like the prose of this great writer"; and L. P. Hartley, suggesting that Shiel's conceptions were more grandiose than those of Tolstoy, Dostoevsky or Herman Melville, described his novels: "like Mount Everest, or the River Amazon, or the Eiffel Tower, or the Woolworth Building, they are not to be contained in the positive or the comparative degree; they set a standard, they break a record, they aim at the Absolute."

Matthew Phipps Shiel was born July 21, 1865, on the island of Montserrat, in the British West Indies. His Irish father was a ship-owner and lay preacher, whose desire for a son knew the frustration of eight daughters before the boy came. Young Phipps was undoubtedly spoiled and led to believe that he was the most important person in the world. He was a handsome, brilliant boy with few companions besides the mulatto plantation hands who tilled the island's fields of sugar cane and groves of lime trees, so that when he wasn't reading he was climbing the rugged escarpments of La Soufrière or dashing with unabated vigor down the slopes of Centre or Silver Hill. When he was fifteen his father had him crowned King of Redonda—Redonda being a tall piece of rock lying ten miles north of Montserrat in the Caribbean, rearing like some prehistoric beast from the sea, uninhabited save for the strong-winged sea-birds, which nested on its crest. This event did much to develop what might be termed megalomania in the boy. At a later time Shiel had this to say concerning his coronation: "This notion that I am somehow the King, King of Kings, and the Kaiser of imperial Caesar, was so inveterately suggested to me, that I became incapable of expelling it. But to believe fantasies is what causes half our sorrows, as not believing realities causes half." His recognition of his egoism and his attempts to conquer it figured to a great extent in the prose he composed.

Shiel's highly religious father gave the boy an Old Testament foundation in literature and religion, father and son reading together every morning for years selections from the Book. The Jehovah and Job became the boy's favorites, but Methodism gave way to scepticism, and scepticism to mysticism.

Shiel went to Harrison College in Barbados, then to King's College, London. His early interests had been Greek, Latin, mathematics, and chemistry ("By the time I was eleven . . . I had de-

voured, I should think, most of what is written in Greek") but he soon decided that writing English was what he was given to do, so that at eleven Shiel was issuing a hand-written newspaper, at twelve had written a novel, and at seventeen had published a serial in a St. Kitts' paper. This early endeavor was of no use to him until after his graduation, when, after teaching mathematics a year and spending six months in medical studies at St. Bart's, he once again tried his hand at writing. His knowledge of a half dozen languages helped him obtain the position of interpreter to the International Congress of Hygiene and Demography, so that he had no lack of interests and activities. Minor journalistic work and translating French short stories into English helped him find a foothold on the literary ladder. He found there was an easy market for short stories and serial novels, and the list of newspapers and magazines which published his work is a ponderous one. Except for a ten-year period which included World War I, when he was in the Censor's Office, the remainder of his life was devoted to the art of writing. When he died in 1947 he had written thirty books, and two collections were issued after his death.

2

As Ralph Straus said, Shiel was like no one but himself, yet his work owes much to the influence of the Bible, Poe, Meredith, and Carlyle. Others among his favorite writers were Homer, Herodotus, Tacitus, Horace, Pittigrilli, Dante, Goethe, Heine, Baudelaire, Dostoevsky, and Cervantes; and the house built under the influence of such varied architects might be expected to reveal strange wings, towers, and crypts. There may be some kinship between Shiel's stories and the *contes cruel* of Villiers de l'Isle Adam, whose work Shiel translated. T. E. Welby of the London *Saturday Review*, not searching for sources but only making comparisons, measures Shiel against Maturin, Barbey d'Aurevilly, Poe, and Borel; and Rachel Annand Taylor summed up Shiel as "macabre as Poe, recondite as Baron Corvo, sophisticated as Baudelaire." Certainly, his early fire was reflective of that general conflagration of the 'Nineties, that warming flame in the winter of the century. In a sense, his first book, *Prince Zaleski*, published in 1895, can be considered a marker standing at the literary cross roads of the period, an ending and a

beginning, a change of direction in literary emphasis. For the literary renaissance of the 'Nineties proceeded along two paths. The first movement was that spark of decadence sent running through the gunpowder of the younger artists by a remark made in 1873 by Walter Pater in his book *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry*, and ending in the Wilde episode of 1895, with the subsequent de-emphasis of the decadent spirit. Shiel's *Prince Zaleski* and *Shapes in the Fire* (1896), while wholly "decadent"—or what has been so called—in their honing of emotion to its sharpest edge, in their purple phrase, artificiality, and satiety of exoticism, came too late to be of importance in this movement.

The second movement, on a different level, was the spreading of the "yellow" spirit through the masses by means of the sensation novel and sensation journalism. The sensation of decadence became the sensational of British militant imperialism. Alfred Harmsworth's *Daily Mail* and other papers and the journals of C. Arthur Pearson did much to disseminate jingoism in many forms, not the least of which were the sensational novels of M. P. Shiel. How appropriate is the title of his most popular novel of the time—*The Yellow Danger!*

It wasn't until his *Lord of the Sea and Purple Cloud* of 1901 that—under the stress of personal hardships, with a struggled-for virtuosity, and apt choice of subject and style—he began to temper his novel of sensation with the philosophic doctrines he was to preach all his later years. Even in the lightest, the most sensational, of his books there is always an overtone of more-than-the-obvious, certain pale faces that peep and peer obliquely, as it were, among those of the overt plot—or, as Carl Van Vechten describes it, "a philosophic consciousness, a sophisticated naïveté, an imaginative *au delà*, of which the plot is only the formal expression." But no real artistic use was made of Shiel's philosophy until its embodiment in those books above named. Then came a series of novels, all expounding the same general themes; and despite the many books he was to write over the next thirty years, Shiel was always afterwards to hold the same beliefs that he held in 1901.

It is difficult to pluck Shiel's philosophy from the novels in which it lies buried—despite his sometimes too didactic writing and consequent loss of artistic effect. He always had great respect for what he

called a "wit," the mental or physical acrobat, a genius like himself—and his novels are peopled with these. Too, he was almost obsessed with a messianic complex, and modeled many of his heroes accordingly, as Richard Hogarth in *Lord of the Sea*: "the Slayer of the Giant—Arthur come back—the Messenger of the Covenant—the genius of our species—Jesus the Oft-Born." These traits were essentially a manifestation of Shiel's suppressed megalomania, and to some extent he recognized this and attempted to combat them. This theme of self-suppression reached its peak in his *The Weir o' It*, following the dictates of Thomas à Kempis: "Do frequent violence to thyself." Shiel was a socialist; he thought he was a scientist; he had a mystic regard for nature and physical health. He felt there was an evolution at work in the Universe, the Power that is God being good, and Man may not only realize this and be happy, but can become great by bowing in communion with Nature and being humble in the light of truth.

But Shiel not only had a great deal to say, he said it well, and in the saying probably established whatever reputation he is to have in years to come. For he is fundamentally a stylist, and though he might not, as did Edgar Saltus, speak of "style, style polished, style repolished," it is nevertheless true that, when revising his work, he never changed the plot, only polished his style—practicing what he believed to be the tenets of good writing.

That style was compounded of many elements. In L. P. Hartley's opinion Shiel's vocabulary was the largest ever handled by a novelist. His books reveal an addiction to alliteration, long, involved sentences and peculiarities of punctuation, but have fine description, with imagery as intimate and immediate as blood on a fresh-gashed hand, and a rhythm that runs murmuring to thunder. Here is how he described his methodology:

See me here at this moment composing with a complete, though low harmoniousness, and with a nearly complete ease—conscious of each consonant and of every (accented) vowel-sound of my outlay, without fail remembering them every one, as the swain bears safe in his brain the faces and tale of his ewes, using an alacrity of consciousness comparable to that of an acrobat or conjuror astonishing some mass of men, of a mathematic (successfully) tackling the job of some very complex problem,

writing and riding this English language with the gallantry and wrist of the charioteer of the Roman amphitheatre as he drove his streetbreadth of rebel steeds.

Shiel felt that the true literary artist should be a "God-like creator" and build his own literary world, not merely imitate the methods and subjects of past writers. "Art, then, is the production by elaborate new contrivance, of intended effects upon intended minds," he said in 1896; "he that would be both fictionist and fine-artist must . . . begin to cast about him for entirely new forms, or at least for characters and incidents of a wholly different kind, very much less life-like—equally *alive*."

He actually worked out a formula for art—all art, he thought, being compounded of four elements: matter, expression, harmony, tone: the balance and accord of which determine the excellence of that art. Technique, then, is merely the balancing of each of these elements into a harmonic whole, and style only the "peeping through of the personality of each writer in his writing."

It is interesting to see an example of criticism based on this theory in action. Here is Shiel in his essay *On Reading* (1909):

Nothing, in fact, could more amusingly prove how "out of it" the English and American peoples are in the matter of Art than their serious acceptance of *The Raven* and *The Bells* as poems. They are not poems! I remember listening to the late Mr. Christie Murray recite *The Raven* to low piano notes, with low lights, and a bowl of Hollands-punch about (for the charming man had one morning vowed a thousand vows as to whisky, and, to stick to them, had to pitch to gin)—a recitation in such a tone of unction! and if I had told him that it is not a poem, he would have felt pained. But it is only an exercise in harmony, and no more a poem than "scales" for the piano, or "studies in chords" for the fiddle are pieces of music. "His eyes have all the seeming of a *daemon's* that is *dreaming*," is all very well, but when no one, as I *deem*, knows what a *daemon* that is *dreaming* is like? "And the lamplight o'er him streaming throws his shadow on the floor"—imagine the mad position of the *lamp* to manage such a thing, when the raven was on the *pallid* bust of *Pallas* just above the chamber door—"just" is charming! the "j" of "just" to harmonise with "ch" of chamber. Of course, beside harmony, *The Raven* (not *The Bells*) has tone: harmony-in-

excelsis, tone-in-excelsis, so charm-in-excelsis; still, it is not a poem: for it lacks matter, or the matter is so mechanical, uncalled-for, false, that it can't be called matter; and it lacks all expression. (I except, however, from this criticism, the line, "Ah, distinctly I remember, it was in the bleak December"—which is really romantic, i.e., true; and also these three, "Caught from some ill-fated master, whom unmerciful etc." The rest is an exercise in harmony and tone, as *The Bells* is an exercise in harmony alone.)

3

A book must be judged on its own merits, but the worth and dimension of a writer only become apparent through a detailed examination and study of all his bibliography. John Connell said of M. P. Shiel in 1947 that he was "worth very serious attention," and the 1955 supplement to *Twentieth Century Authors* suggests "his work deserves to be more widely known than it is." One may question the amount of attention due a minor novelist, but certainly no attention can be given anyone unless his books are available. For years the works of M. P. Shiel have been unavailable except to the most diligent first edition collector. It is well now that this group of books brought together by Shiel's bibliographer be kept together for preservation and study. It is hoped that the collection can soon be completed.

Earlier mention has been made that the collection includes twenty-three of thirty-two Shiel titles. Shiel's first book *Prince Zaleski*, published by John Lane in 1895, is included, its royal purple cloth binding badly faded as usual. This book was number seven of Lane's famous Keynotes series and sported a cover and title-page designed by Aubrey Beardsley. Examples of the American edition (Boston, Roberts Bros., 1895) and a London reprint of 1928 are also included.

The collection does not include Shiel's second, and probably rarest, book—*The Rajah's Sapphire*. This inconsequential novella was written from a plot given Shiel by W. T. Stead, who intended to use it in a paper he planned to begin publishing in 1893. However, Stead did not use it, and the story remained unpublished

until 1896 when Ward, Lock and Bowden brought it out as a handsome little volume of their *Nautilus* series.

*Shapes in the Fire*, a collection of short stories, is another volume not included in the group. This book was published in November of 1896 by Lane in London and Roberts in Boston.

Shiel's sensational novels, *The Yellow Danger* (1898), *Contraband of War* (1899), and *Cold Steel* (1899), all published by Grant Richards, are represented in many editions. A book of similar nature, *The Man-Stealers* (London, Hutchinson, 1900) is not in the group.

In 1901 Shiel's two best and best-known books were published, and both are represented in the collection in several editions. *The Lord of the Sea* was published by Grant Richards in London and Frederick A. Stokes in New York in its first editions; at least five editions were issued in later years and several of these are included. The most important of these was an edition by A. A. Knopf, New York, 1924, with a radically revised text and an introduction by Carl Van Vechten.

*The Purple Cloud* (London, Chatto & Windus) has long been acclaimed as Shiel's masterpiece and one of the outstanding works of fantasy of all time. Shiel wrote Van Vechten about the source of this novel: "With solitude I was always in love as a theme for painting and poetry; and when an elderly American millionaire, whose ideas were raw, but admirably fresh and strong and multifold, on coming to visit me, suggested to me to write of 'Peary and his family' going to the Pole and coming back to a 'dead world,' I leapt at it, left out 'the family,' and 'Peary,' too, and wrote this." The book, more nearly like a prose "Ancient Mariner" than anything else that comes to mind, is a splendid affirmation of the ultimate goodness of the Universe. Jules Claretie, French author and critic, believed "*The Purple Cloud* should live as long as *The Odyssey*." And, after its re-issue with a revised and improved text in 1929, the London *Times Literary Supplement* made this comment: "'The Purple Cloud' is as unassailable as ever. Time and maturity crumble none of its magnificence; it remains a sublime construction of fantasy." As recently as 1945, D. C. Stevenson in the *New York Times Book Review* devoted a long article to praise of this novel.

The University's copy of the first edition of this title is an espe-

cially interesting one. The book was published in September of 1901 and this copy bears Shiel's autograph presentation inscription to a "C. Dundas Slater" and gives the address and date: "7 Guilford Place, W.C. Dec. 3rd 1901." It was at this address that Shiel lived in squalor with his first wife and baby, dashing off page after page of prose at his desk to let fall, while his young wife gathered and sorted them (as Arthur Ransome describes). Shiel had married Carolina Garcia Gomez, a Spanish-French girl of sixteen, in 1898; but in 1903, unable to stand their poverty and withstand the pleas of her mother, the girl left Shiel—only to die soon after.

Other Shiel titles in the collection include *Unto the Third Generation* (1903), *The Evil that Men Do* (1904), *The Lost Viol* (1905), *The Yellow Wave* (1905), *The Last Miracle* (1906), *The Isle of Lies* (1909), *This Knot of Life* (1909), *The Dragon* (1913), *Children of the Wind* (1923), *How the Old Woman Got Home* (1927), *Dr. Krasinski's Secret* (1929), *The Black Box* (1930), *Say Au R'Voir but Not Goodbye* (1933), *The Invisible Voices* (1935), *The Young Men Are Coming!* (1937), *Above All Else* (1943—a re-issue of *This Above All*, 1933), and *The Best Short Stories* (1948).

Of these, all the early ones are of almost equal interest to the collector. *This Knot of Life*, a novel which includes the fascinating essay "On Reading," is an especially difficult book to find.

Books the library still does not have—in addition to the earlier mentioned *Rajah's Sapphire*, *Shapes in the Fire*, and *The Man Stealers*—include *The Weird o' It* (London, Grant Richards, 1902), *The White Wedding* (London, T. Werner Laurie, 1908), *The Pale Ape* (London, T. Werner Laurie, 1911—usually noted as Shiel's rarest), *Here Comes the Lady* (London, Richards Press, 1928), *Poems* (London, Richards Press, 1936), and *Science, Life and Literature* (London, Williams & Norgate, 1950).

About the turn of the century Shiel collaborated with Louis Tracy on several "pot-boiler" mystery stories under the pseudonym of Gordon Holmes. One of these books, *By Force of Circumstances*, is included in the present collection. In addition, Shiel also wrote many words in other books published under Tracy's name, one of which, *An American Emperor*, is included; according to A. R.

Morse, Shiel's bibliographer, Shiel wrote 88 of the book's 336 pages.

During the 1930's Shiel and his literary executor, "John Gawsorth" (Terence Ian Fytton Armstrong), combined their talents to produce eight mediocre short stories which were published in various thriller anthologies edited by Gawsorth. Two of these anthologies are in the group—*Tbrills* (1936) and *Crimes, Creeps and Tbrills*, also published in 1936.

But bibliography and biography are of secondary interest to the work of the writer, and of Shiel it may well be said: he is better read than read about.

# New Acquisitions

**T**HIS SECTION reviews from time to time the important gifts and purchases received in the Library for the period between issues of the CHRONICLE. It is a selective list, and cannot always include every item which may be worthy of mention; but it is intended that it shall always be representative of significant kinds of acquisitions.

## RARE BOOK COLLECTIONS

### I. WALT WHITMAN

On November 22 last, there was held at the University a Walt Whitman symposium which included both local scholars and visitors: Dr. Alice L. Cooke of the Department of English discussed Whitman and Carlyle, Dr. Tom Brasher of Southwest Texas State College spoke on Whitman's early literary criticism, and Dr. Gay W. Allen of New York University on Whitman and recent criticism. A special visitor on this occasion was Mr. Charles E. Feinberg of Detroit, whose Whitman collection is widely known. Not only did Mr. Feinberg entertain a dinner audience with an expert account of Whitman's relations with his publishers; he brought with him a sizeable sample of his collection, which was on display for a short time in the English Building cases: manuscripts, letters, pictures, commercial documents, and other Whitman memorabilia. Mr. Feinberg's generosity was not confined to this one occasion, however, and the library has since received from him some very welcome additions to its already growing holdings in Whitman. (*Library Chronicle* II: 95-105; Summer 1946.)

The Feinberg gift includes first, a series of proof-sheets from magazine articles and books about Whitman. John Burroughs' *Note on Walt Whitman as Poet and Person*, second edition (New York, 1871), is represented by an 8-page signature including title page and prefatory material. Another sheet, "*An impromptu criticism on the 900-page Volume, 'the Complete Poems and Prose of Walt Whitman,' first issued December 1888,*" is by R. M. Bucke,

who says, among other things: "Dear Walt, you have had a hard fight and a long fight, but we may say of you to-day that you have won the battle." Also by Bucke is a proof-sheet headed "Rough abstract and condensation of Sarrazin's 'Walt Whitman,' in 'La Nouvelle Revue,' 1st of May, 1888.—By R.M.B., of Canada." By Whitman himself is a proof-sheet of "A Memorandum at a Venture," published in the *North American Review* of June, 1882. Individual proof-sheets to the following poems are also part of the gift: "A Carol Closing Sixty-Nine," "After Twenty Years," "As One by One Withdraw the Lofty Actors," "Going Somewhere," "Of That Blithe Throat of Thine," "Old Age Echoes," "Old Age Recitatives," "On, On The Same, Ye Jocund Twain," and "To the Sun-Set Breeze."

Whitman scholars may take special interest in the progress made in the reassembly of a scattered Whitman manuscript, made possible through a combination of Mr. Feinberg's efforts as collector and bibliographer. The RBC owns two pages of manuscript, pages 4 and 5, numbered in pencil. Upon the evidence of only these two pages, it is difficult to conjecture whether the manuscript is part of a series of drafts of poems, part of a piece of reminiscence, or what-not. Dating, of course, is similarly difficult. With photostatic copies of other pages furnished by Mr. Feinberg, it is now clear that our two pages are part of a series of ten (possibly eleven) pages comprising an article, "How I Get Around at Sixty and Take Notes," appearing in *The Critic* on April 9, 1881. The first page of the original is at the Library of Congress; Mr. Feinberg has pages 2, 9, and 10; we have pages 4 and 5; Yale has page 7—leaving only pages 3, 6, 8, and possibly a concluding page 11 still to be accounted for. On the TxU pages are three units headed "Distant Sounds," "The Wind," and "Brook-babbling"; thus what might upon purely local evidence have been supposed to be an independent draft of a poem, or three poems, has been shown to be part of a short prose article. How and why should the leaves of his little manuscript have become so widely separated?

Finally, another item helping to complete an imperfect copy in the TxU collection is a missing leaf of *Memoranda During the War*, which was published serially (during early 1874) in a form readily vulnerable to scattering. Included with these bibliographic

items are a number of photographic and lithographic portraits of Whitman at various times, and portraits of both his mother and father.

Thus, while it cannot be said that our holdings in Whitman are among the most outstanding in the country, we do have a good collection—one well worth taking trouble to augment.

JOSEPH JONES  
*Department of English*

## II. T. S. ELIOT

In 1957 the Rare Books Collections acquired an extensive collection of the first editions and translations of the writings of T. S. Eliot, along with certain critical studies and reviews of his work. Chronologically, the material covers the whole range of Mr. Eliot's published works, from *Prufrock* (1915) to *On Poets and Poetry* (1957). Substantially, it covers his major works and, taken in conjunction with the Library's files of literary periodicals, affords the serious student a fairly comprehensive collection. The major gap at the moment is a run of *The Criterion*, an item of some rarity, there being probably not many more than twenty complete sets in this country. This brief survey is intended to indicate something of the wealth of material now available for the student of this commanding figure in modern literature.

The earliest item in the collection is Ezra Pound's *Catholic Anthology* of 1915, which contains 'Prufrock,' 'Portrait of a Lady,' and three other poems. This is Eliot's first appearance in book form. His poetry had begun to appear in *Poetry* (Chicago) in 1915, beginning with 'Prufrock,' but only after a running battle by letter between Pound and Harriet Monroe, the editor. Eliot's first American book appearance was Alfred Kreymborg's *Others* anthology of 1916, which contained 'Portrait of a Lady.' By 1917 Eliot was settled in London and had become an assistant editor of *The Egoist*, along with his bank clerk activities. In June of that year the *Egoist* Press published his first book, a small yellow paper-covered pamphlet entitled *Prufrock and other Observations*. Later that year, Alfred A. Knopf published a short appreciation of Ezra Pound, which was later credited to Eliot. Mr. Eliot has since remarked that it was pub-

lished anonymously because he was even less well-known at the time than Pound!

By 1920 Eliot had published three small books of verse, and had contributed widely to literary periodicals. In the fall of that year his first volume of essays, *The Sacred Wood*, was published, and is credited, along with his later *Poems 1909-1925*, with an incalculable influence on the rising generation of poets in the late 'twenties. In 1922, amid now well-known circumstances, *The Waste Land* was published, first in *The Criterion*, and later in book form by Boni & Liveright in New York and by the Hogarth Press in London. The book form, with its now famous notes recently repented of by their author as a "remarkable exposition of bogus scholarship," is represented in the collection by the New York edition.

Also represented from this period are the *Homage to John Dryden* (1924), a collection of three long essays, *Poems 1909-1925*, and the *Ariel Poems* of 1927-1931. The latter—*Journey of the Magi*, *Song for Simeon*, *Animula*, *Marina*, and *Triumphal March*—are present in both the regular and signed or limited editions. *Journey of the Magi* is also represented by the first American edition, of which only 27 copies were printed for copyright purposes, and of which only 12 were for sale. This last is part of a set of the *Ariel Poems*, done by William E. Rudge for copyright purposes.

*For Lancelot Andrewes* (1928), a collection of "essays on style and order," prefaced by the now famous (or notorious) statement of position—royalist, classicist, and Anglo-Catholic—is here, along with regular and signed issues of *Dante* (1929) and *Ash-Wednesday* (1930). The *Selected Essays* (1932) is present in the limited, signed edition. In 1932-33 Mr. Eliot delivered the Charles Eliot Norton lectures at Harvard, and the Page-Barbour lectures at the University of Virginia in 1934. From these series came *The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism* (1933) and *After Strange Gods* (1934), respectively.

Mr. Eliot's plays are well represented in the collection. His early exploratory writings for the stage are shown by *Sweeney Agonistes* (1932), an Aristophanic fragment written in jazz rhythms, and both issues of *The Rock* (1934), the book of words for a pageant play. *Murder in the Cathedral*, written for the Canterbury Festival in 1935, is present in the forms of the acting edition, the expanded

first edition, and the film edition (1952). This play, his most successful and popular dramatic work, has been widely performed, translated into at least eight languages, recorded, and, in recent years, turned into a film and an opera. This latter, performed at La Scala this spring, is the work of the Italian composer Ildebrando Pizzetti. There are also first editions of his other plays, *The Family Reunion* (1939), *The Cocktail Party* (1950), and *The Confidential Clerk* (1954).

*Four Quartets*, the most important poetical works of the poet's maturity, was published in sections, 'Burnt Norton' first appearing in the *Collected Poems 1909-1935*. 'East Coker' (1940), 'The Dry Salvages' (1941), and 'Little Gidding' (1943), completed the group, which was then published as a whole (1944). This work is represented by the separate issues of the poems and the first English edition. The collected work first appeared in the United States in 1943, but the edition was withdrawn except for a few hundred review and copyright copies, because of printing difficulties, and was re-issued later. Since the appearance of *Four Quartets*, Mr. Eliot has confined his poetical work to pieces of occasional verse, such as *A Practical Possum* (1947), the verses in *A Tribute to Walter de la Mare* (1948), *The Cultivation of Christmas Trees* (1954), and the following lines, faced by a photograph of a cat on a park bench, taken from *Gala Day London* (Harvill Press, London, 1953), p. 69:

Let quacks, empirics, dolts debate  
The quandaries of Church and State.  
Let intellectuals address  
The latest Cultural Congress.  
Here is the true Contemplative,  
Content to live—perhaps let live—  
The Sage, disposed to sit and stare  
With a vacant mind in a vacant square.

The square is, no doubt, Russell Square!

Since 1940 Mr. Eliot's essays have tended to appear as separate pamphlets or small books, originally delivered as lectures. Such items are *The Music of Poetry* (1942), *The Classics and the Man of Letters* (1942), *What is a Classic?* (1945), *Milton* (1947), *From Poe to Valéry* (1948), *Poetry and Drama* (1951), *The Three*

*Voices of Poetry* (1953), and *The Frontiers of Criticism* (1956). The collection also includes the English and American editions of his latest collection of essays, *On Poets and Poetry* (1957), which contains two hitherto unpublished lectures on Samuel Johnson and such late essays and lectures as those on Yeats, Goethe, Byron, and Kipling.

Several of Eliot's later writings reflect his increasing concern with and interest in the problems of European culture and its preservation and perpetuation. *The Idea of a Christian Society* (1939) was his first excursion into the field; this was followed by *Die Einheit der Europäischen Kultur* (1946), a series of broadcast talks to Germany, and a series of preliminary essays which led, finally, to *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture* (1948). Two items in the collection which reflect his active interest in religious and theological matters are *Reunion by Destruction* (1943), this being "reflections on a scheme for church union in South India," and *The Value and Use of Cathedrals in England Today* (1952).

In the course of his long career Mr. Eliot has contributed to more than 100 books, either in the form of a portion of the text proper, or in the form of a preface or introduction, some of the latter of essay length. Among the more interesting and perhaps less well known of these are the introduction to his mother's dramatic poem *Savonarola* (1926), introductions to selections of poetry by Ezra Pound (1928), Harold Monro (1933), Kipling (1941), selections of modern verse by Anne Ridler (1942), and introductions to such diverse works as Pascal's *Pensées* (1931) and *Huckleberry Finn* (1950). He has also contributed prefaces to several works of Shakespearian criticism, and of late has prefaced several works on sociology. Other contributions to books include his Nobel Prize acceptance speech (1948), and the Goethe Prize speech (1955).

Many translations of Eliot's work, far more than is perhaps generally realized, have been made, especially into the principal European languages. One of the earliest of these was a Dutch translation of *The Waste Land*, made within a year or so of its original publication. The collection includes a Danish translation of a selection of his poems, including 'The Waste Land,' 'Gerontion,' and 'Ash-Wednesday'; French translations of *Murder in the Cathedral*, a selection of the poems through 1930, a similar selection of essays,

and the selection of Kipling's verse made by Eliot; and German translations of *Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats* (entitled, prosaically, *Old Possums Katzenbuch*) and *The Confidential Clerk*.

There are also a Greek translation of 'The Waste Land' and some other of the poems; Italian translations of 'Prufrock' and 'The Waste Land,' and other poems; and Spanish translations of *Selected Essays* (1932), *Idea of a Christian Society*, and *The Family Reunion*. Perhaps the most exotic item in the collection is a Turkish translation of *Journey of the Magi*.

One or two other miscellaneous items which deserve mention are Eliot's contribution to the St. Louis Symphony Society's *Cookbook* (1954), his note in the catalogue of the Joyce Exhibition in Paris (1949), and his obituary notice of Joyce in *Horizon* (1941).

A. E. SKINNER  
*Mallet Chemical Library*

## LATIN AMERICAN COLLECTION

### I

The collection has been the recipient of two more significant donations from Mrs. Jack Danciger of Fort Worth—one in February and the other in December, 1957. The first consisted of two hundred and twenty-four books, some two hundred issues of Latin American periodicals and over a hundred Latin American comic books. The second contained over three hundred issues of Latin American periodicals—*The Peruvian Times*, *La Revista de Arte*, *Mexican American Review*, *Ingeniería hidráulica en México*, *Revista internacional y diplomática*, *México comercial*, *Agricultura*, etc.—and a collection of artifacts from the early Peruvian civilizations and from Easter Island, along with other more recent objects, such as masks, flags, decorated gourds and horns for drinking maté and chicha, etc.

The artifacts and other objects have been used in an exhibit which has created considerable interest in the life and customs of the early civilizations as well as of modern times. The archeological pieces will be permanently located in the museum of anthropology.

The library material has enriched the holdings of the collection.

This is especially true of the issues of periodicals. To obtain complete files of Latin American periodicals is always an extremely difficult and rather expensive task. Even if subscriptions are placed, almost inevitably something happens to cause a few issues to be lost en route and to be out-of-print when an attempt is made to obtain them. Hence the value of receiving gifts of this kind. While some may duplicate some of the holdings, always a considerable number will be those much desired missing issues. This has been particularly true of the donations received from Mr. Danciger.

Latin American books are issued too in very limited editions. Especially is this the case with the more expensive and valuable editions, such as Horacio Raúl Descole, *Genera et species plantarum argentinarum* (3v., Buenos Aires, 1943), issued in monumental format with colored plates for each species discussed; the numerous works issued commemorating special holidays, like those of *Arequipa en el IV centenario de su fundación* (Lima, 1940); *El Ecuador en el centenario de la independencia de Guayaquil* (New York, 1920); "Lima la ciudad de los reyes" en el IV centenario de su fundación (Lima, 1935); and books of plates showing scenes and customs, like Hans Horkheimer, *Vistas arqueológicas del norte del Perú* (Trujillo, 1944); *Lima, precolombina y virreinal* (Lima, 1938); Juan B. Lastres, *Representaciones patológicas en la cerámica peruana* (Lima, 1943); *Aspectos de Lima* (3ed., Lima, 1929); *Lima, la ciudad virreinal* (Lima, 19—); *La selva peruana, sus pobladores y su colonización en seguridad sanitaria* issued by the Instituto de Medicina Social of the University of San Marcos (Lima, 1939); and *Perú . . . norte, sur, centro y montaña* (Lima, n.d.), which are only a few of the valuable ones so generously donated to the library by Mr. Danciger.

The collection looks forward to similar gifts and hopes for funds to purchase much needed rare items that appear for sale from time to time but which far too often have already been sold by the time money is available to purchase them. At the present time there are a half dozen such items offered for sale, but special funds for the current year have been exhausted; and by next fall when additional money becomes available these items will most likely have enriched the holdings of some other institution.

## II

"The North American thinks for himself and speaks for himself from the time that he, of his own free will, launches forth on life's ocean with his talent his only compass, his fortune his own responsibility. Honor, power, riches, learning, profession—all offer themselves freely to him; all show themselves accessible if he has the desire and the genius to attain them. . . ."

"The son of the north expects everything from the gifts that God has given him, from the strength of his muscles, from the energy of his brain, from the inspirations of his heart."

So writes Joaquín Blest Gana in "A Yankee Type. Samuel Houston" in *Revista de Santiago* (3v. 38 no., Santiago de Chile, 1872-73), I, 506-514, 584-595. Any American who reads this romanticized biography of Sam Houston, here pictured as a typical citizen of the United States in 1872, will be inspired and challenged.

Perhaps it is not surprising, although at first sight it so seems, for Blest Gana to have admired the American citizen whom he personified in Sam Houston. Blest Gana and his two brothers—Alberto, the novelist and diplomat, and Guillermo, poet, journalist and diplomat—have been called "the golden tripod on which rested the Chilean intellectuality of the last half of the nineteenth century." They were active in almost every phase of Chilean life and were among the significant contributors to *La Revista del Pacífico*, *El Correo Literario*, *La Semana*, and *La Revista de Santiago*; all but the first of which are now in the Latin-American Collection, the last two having been acquired recently.

The *Revista de Santiago* was edited by Fanor Velasco, the outstanding wit of his day and one of the most ardent and effective advocates of freedom of thought in Chile, which he defended not only in the press but also in Congress and as under secretary of the Ministry of Justice and later of the Ministry of Foreign Relations. Co-founder with Velasco of this review was Augusto Orrego Luco, another Chilean of many talents—surgeon, journalist, director of the School of Medicine of the national university of Chile, president of the press association, member of Congress, Minister of the Interior, and Minister of Education. He was a regular contributor also to *Los Lunes*, *Revista del Progreso*, *Revista Nueva*, *La Revista*

*Chilena*, and the newspapers *El Ferrocarril* and *El Mercurio*, and edited the *Revista Médica*. The first three of the reviews are new acquisitions and the *Revista Chilena* has been here for some time.

*Los Lunes* (2v., 63 no., Santiago de Chile, 1882-1883), published weekly on Mondays by the liberal newspaper *La Epoca*, was issued to serve the literary and scientific movement of the country and accepted no contributions relating to political and religious disputes. It was particularly interested in making known to Chile the works of foreigners and carried, among others, a translation of Victor Hugo's *Torquemada*, articles about and excerpts from the works of Goethe, Zola, Liszt, Tennyson, Poe, Hawthorne, George Eliot, and the Brontë sisters. Each issue had also a section devoted to the poetry of such poets as Oyuela, Isaacs, Pombo, Obligado, Guido Spano, Echegaray, Gutiérrez Nájera, etc., and historical articles by Amunátegui, Orrego Luco, and others. Only two volumes were published. The November 13, 1883 issue stated that in the future the Monday issue of *La Epoca* would entitle its second page "Sección Literaria," and it would contain material similar to that previously carried in *Los Lunes*.

The *Revista del Progreso* (4v., Santiago de Chile, 1888-90), edited by Santiago Aldunate B., and Luis Arrieta Cánas, was devoted primarily to the social sciences and the natural and physical sciences. It stated that its purpose was "not to fill its granary with the rosy harvest cultivated" by the then extant *Revista Económica*, *Revista Forense Chilena*, *Revista Médica de Chile* and *Revista de Artes i Letras* but to stimulate interest in and give expression to ideas relating to the social, natural and physical sciences. Unfortunately the collection does not yet have any of the last four named reviews.

Few significant journals dealing with literature and the social sciences were published in Chile between 1891-1900. One which began during this period was *Le Revista de Chile* (7v., Santiago, 1898-1901), which has been available here for some time. Joining it on our shelves now is *La Revista Nueva* (7v., Santiago, 1900-1903), devoted to literature, science, the arts, etc., and including in each issue a section devoted to Parisian styles and another devoted to the latest theatrical productions in Paris, Berlin, Madrid, London, etc., Among its contributors were the ranking Latin-American au-

thors of that time. It also carried at times translations of works by other authors, such as Rudyard Kipling, H. G. Wells, Henrik Sienkiewicz, Eduard Engel, Bjoenstjerne Bjoernsen, and Paul Verlaine; and articles about John Ruskin, Kipling, Verlaine, Daudet, Zola, and Gorki.

Two other twentieth century Chilean reviews now here are *Revista de Artes y Letras (Que Continúa La de "Los Diez")* (4 no., Santiago, 1918) edited by Miguel Luis Rocuant and Fernando Santiván, and *La Comedia Humana*. The former, as the title suggests, superseded *Los Diez* (4 no., Santiago, 1916-1917) which is here also. The first issue of the *Revista de Artes y Letras* appeared in January of 1918 as año II, núm. 1, because it was a continuation of *Los Diez* which had the enumeration of año 1, nums. 1 to 4. Only four numbers of each title appeared.

Hector Lacquaniti, the editor of *La Comedia Humana* (Santiago-Valparaíso, December 1, 1904-August 2, 1906) describes his magazine as "a humorous, socio-political weekly that raises the curtain on the Chilean and Italian life on the first and fifteenth of each month." Most of the contributors used pseudonyms, including that of Mark Twain, probably for protection, because most of the material is satirical and critical of the politicians and government. The caricatures and illustrations of events and people of Chile are quite entertaining. Beginning with the issue for November 29, 1906, the title became *La Comedia* and the numbering of issues was begun anew as año 1, núm. 1. The cover of this first number announced the new title with a caricature of the editor standing beside the words *La Comedia* with his left arm pointing to the statement "What is missing from the title was destroyed by the earthquake." On the first page he explains that he has found it necessary to move from Valparaiso to Santiago, where he hopes to find a broader stage and more comedians. It would appear that his satirical efforts and his caricatures caused the life of his comedy to become quite erratic there also, and eventually to expire completely with the issue of October 5, 1907.

Another valuable Chilean acquisition is *La Semana, revista noticiosa, literaria i científica* (2v., Santiago de Chile, 1859-1860), edited by Justo and Domingo Arteaga y Alemparte. According to Domingo Amunátegui Solar, after the civil war in Copiapó, "La

*Semana* appeared like a rainbow in the midst of the storm," at a time when there was not a single literary review. Contributors to it were Lastarria, Irisarri, the Blest Gana's, Barros Arana, Vicuña Mackenna, Barros Grez, Rodríguez Velasco, Eduardo de la Barra, the Amunátegui's, the Lira's and others.

### III

Another significant Chilean acquisition is Claude Gay's *Historia física y política de Chile* (28 v. and atlas of 2 v., Paris, 1844-76). Gay, a French natural scientist, arrived in Chile in December, 1828, at a time of bitter political strife between liberals and conservatives, to teach physics and natural history in a proposed conservative institution to be opened to compete with the liberal institution directed by José Joaquín de Mora. Finding himself in a highly unsatisfactory situation, Gay, in 1830, on the recommendation of Diego Portales, Chilean Minister of the Interior, signed a three and one half year contract with the Chilean government at a salary of fifteen hundred pesos annually. He was to make known to the world the natural products and wealth of the country in order to attract foreign capital and industry to Chile. He was to be supplied with the assistance of one or more young aides and the money necessary to finance his scientific explorations.

For the next thirty-two years he devoted himself to carrying out that commission, producing his monumental political and natural history, divided into eight volumes of political history, for the period of the sixteenth century to 1830, eight volumes each on Chilean botany and zoology, and two volumes on agriculture, accompanied by an atlas of two volumes of maps and plates. He was aided in his botanical and zoological production by Desmurs, Guichenot, Nicolet, Gervais, Solier, Spinola, Huppé, Blanchard, Brongniart, Decaisne, Gaudichaud, Richard, Barneoud, Naudin, Montagne, Desvoux, Remy, and others. These botanical and zoological studies have been the foundation of all subsequent studies relating to Chile.

### IV

To make more readily available valuable manuscripts collections needed for research by graduate students, the library has been sys-

tematically acquiring microfilm of archival materials. Recently added are 167 rolls of film of manuscript collections. Seventy-two rolls contain the letters of the indefatigable Matías Romero of Mexico. He was in the Mexican Embassy in Washington from 1859-1868, 1892-1899, was Minister of the Mexican Treasury from 1868-1872, 1877-1879, and served in other capacities, such as deputy and senator in the Mexican Congress. He was a most trusted representative of Benito Juárez during the French intervention and his correspondence is especially valuable for this period. Already here in the collection are forty-six rolls of film containing all of the Juárez Archives held in the Biblioteca Nacional of Mexico City.

Also here are ninety rolls of film containing the "Despatches from the United States Ministers to Central America from 1824-July, 1902" and five rolls containing "Notes from Central American Legations in the United States (Sept. 9, 1823-June 25, 1861)." These are from the records of the Department of State in the United States.

The files of two significant periodicals are now available on film: *El Cojo Ilustrado* (24 v., Caracas, 1892-1915) and *El Seminario de Avisos y Conocimientos Utiles* (13 v., 610 no., Asunción, 1853-1863).

## V

The acquisition of Woodes Rogers, *A Cruising Voyage round the World* (2nd. edition, London, 1718), is a valuable addition to our collection of travel literature. Other editions of this work should be added when available, for they contain additional maps, plates, and supplements not found in the second edition. This is especially true of the two French editions published in Amsterdam in 1716 and 1726. Also for similar reasons the English editions of 1712 and 1726 eventually should be acquired if possible.

It is difficult to make the best use of our travel literature and other material without sufficient maps. For this reason the *Monumenta Chartográfica Indiana* (Madrid, 1942) by Julio Fernando Guillén y Tato, editor, is a welcome addition. Only volume one dealing with the "Regiones del Plata y Magallánica" has appeared to date. In

1936, at the time of the fourth centennial of the founding of Buenos Aires, the Spanish government prepared to exhibit a large group of maps and documents as its contribution to the celebration. The Spanish Civil War prevented this participation. After it was over the Spanish Cultural Institute of Argentina encouraged Spain to publish the maps already assembled. This Spain did as volume one of a much larger work which proposes to contain not only the maps relating to the Rio de la Plata but also all its cartographic holdings relating to Spanish America. It is to be hoped that subsequent volumes will appear soon.

Now available are a number of works previously mentioned as needed. Among them are John Ogilby's *America* (London, 1671); Georg Michael Asher's *A Bibliographical and Historical Essay on the Dutch Books and Pamphlets Relating to New Netherland, and to the Dutch West-India Company . . .* (2 pts., Amsterdam, 1854-67), and a substantial number of volumes of Peter Van der Aa's Dutch edition of Antonio Herrera y Tordesillas *Historia general*. The Dutch edition appeared in Amsterdam in 1706.

NETTIE LEE BENSON  
Librarian, Latin American Collection

## TEXAS COLLECTION

### ADAH ISAACS MENKEN, TEXAN BY PARENTAGE, PREFERENCE, OR PREVARICATION?

When Margo Jones of Dallas and national theatrical fame died in July, 1955, she was buried at her birthplace, Livingston, Texas. Mention of that Piney-woods community of Polk county calls to mind that the town, a hundred years ago, was associated briefly with another woman of the theatrical world, Adah Isaacs Menken.

Elizabeth Brooks' *Prominent Women of Texas* (Akron, Ohio, 1896) devoted pages 156-161 to one Adelaide McCord, stating that she was born in Nacogdoches, Texas, grew up as a schoolmate of Thomas P. Ochiltree, won acting fame in the lead role of a melodrama called *Mazeppa; or the Wild Horse of Tartary*, became the most photographed woman of her time, was briefly a theatrical and literary queen of London and Paris, and, at the time of her death was the morganatic wife of the king of Württemberg. According to Brooks: "By the irony of fate, Adelaide McCord, the beautiful Texan, is only known to the world as Adah Isaacs Menken." Ironically for the Texas aspect, research by recent biographers indicates that Menken's only positively established connection with Texas was a few performances in Galveston, where she met a theatre orchestra conductor named Alexander Isaac Menken and eloped with him to be married at Livingston by Justice of the Peace D. D. Moor on April 3, 1856. Responsibility for Brooks' account, true or false, belongs chiefly to Menken herself, who chose name, parents, and birthplace to suit her mood, and possibly to Thomas P. Ochiltree, described by one of the Menken biographers as "a Texan whose fame depended less upon his ability as a soldier than upon his reputation as a teller of tall tales." Whether or not her family lived in Nacogdoches or whether she had a newspaper at Beaumont or Liberty remain unsubstantiated by her biographers.

Within the last few years the University of Texas Library has acquired Menken biographies written by Fulton Oursler, Bernard Falk, Allen Lesser, and Ed James. Oursler's *The World's Delight* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1929) is frankly fiction. The

author states in his postlude that the story "is merely a tale, invented and garnished, with chronologies altered, facts displaced, to meet the author's fancy." Oursler did feel that he had written an authentic biography of the spirit of Adah Isaacs Menken. Doubtless he altered no more chronologies and displaced no more facts than did his subject. In his version, the heroine, a circus performer named Dolores McCord, marries her voice teacher and lives in Galveston. The title comes from an inscription that Algernon Charles Swinburne wrote across a page of Menken's poetry: "Lo, this is she that was the world's delight."

Bernard Falk's *The Naked Lady or Storm over Adah* (London: Hutchinson and Company, 1934) is the result of twenty-five years of study and proposes to "hold the balance judiciously between the disparagements of Swinburne apologists . . . and the fanatical admiration of Menken sympathizers" and to rescue from "comparative obscurity the remarkable life of a woman who, in addition to other activities, was herself a journalist, and used the arts of a particular kind of American journalism to advance her fame." Falk's title comes from Menken's attire in her role of Mazeppa when she wore nothing but flesh-colored tights or (in San Francisco) a blouse and shorts resembling a child's romper suit. According to Allen Lesser, her most recent biographer, Menken helped emancipate the American theatre from its European heritage when, "in an age of hoop skirts and pantalettes, she offered the female figure unadorned." In Falk's chapter entitled "Adah—In Search of a Father," he writes:

To conceal her birth she took the most extraordinary pains, and, in order to bamboozle inquirers, exercised an ingenuity worthy of a more deserving cause. Either voluntarily, on her own account, or in answer to the questions of newspaper men, she tendered the name of her father, but what she said one day was no criterion of what she would say the next day. Both the name and nationality of her mysterious parent were soon to change as often as, and with far less reason than, the style of her hat.

Lesser wrote the article on Menken for the *Dictionary of American Biography*, and his book, *The Enchanting Rebel, the Secret of Adah Isaacs Menken*, was published by Beechhurst Press in New York in 1947. His conclusion, given in the chapter entitled "Who Was Adah Isaacs Menken?" is that the actress was "as successful in

keeping her identity of mystery as she was in winning world fame." He believes that she was born in Louisiana in July, 1835, probably as Adah Bertha Theodore, the name under which she was married. According to Lesser she depicted herself as the daughter of a Dr. Josiah Campbell in an 1860 interview, but in 1861, she identified Dr. Campbell as her stepfather. Her "Notes of My Life," prepared in 1862, gave her own name as Marie Rachel Adelaide de Vere Spenser and Campbell as the stepfather. In 1861 she called herself Adelaide McCord. Lesser's belief is that Menken knew Ochiltree's reputation as a gossip and decided to play a joke upon him so invited him to tea and confided that she had made an alliance with Charles of Württemberg. Ochiltree embellished the story to include Menken's schooldays with him in Nacogdoches.

Appendices to the Lesser book include the "Notes of My Life" and a chronological list of one hundred poems and essays, thirty-one of which appeared in Menken's collected poems called *Infelicia*. The University Library has 1868 and 1869 editions of *Infelicia*. Of that book Ed James wrote:

Much has been spoken and written in derision concerning the little book of poems called "Infelicia," . . . As an offset to this general onslaught, let us simply say that if any, or all combined, of her critics are fortunate enough to have their verses edited by such a man as Dickens and published in Europe in various languages and reproduced here, as Menken's poems were, they will be doing unusually well. Poor Menken, the sculptress and poet-actress, however, was only a woman.

The Vandale Collection includes *Biography of Adah Isaacs Menken*—with Selections from "Infelicia." (Ed James, Author and Publisher, 88 and 90 Centre St., New York). The twenty-four page pamphlet has no date of publication but begins "over thirteen years have passed since poor Menken died," which would establish the date as 1881 or 1882.

James was a sports writer and boxing promoter attached to the *New York Clipper*, a theatrical newspaper. For almost ten years he was Menken's confidant and publicity agent. He helped collect her poems for publication and eight months after her death, posing as her brother, arranged for the transfer of her body from Cemeterie

Père la Chaise in Paris to Montparnasse. One dealer's advertisement for the James' *Biography* reads: "When the big book on odd but famous American Women is written, here's one member of the fair sex that deserves to head the list." *The Galveston Daily News* for July 27, 1882, under the title of "A Wayward Woman," copied from *Music and the Drama* a review of the book by the "philosopher of the Clipper office."

Being himself the author and the publisher, he has condensed the biography into twenty-four pages and placed its price at only 25 cents, so as to bring it within the reach of the poorest of the land. One cent a page, without counting the covers, is certainly cheap enough for such a biography, and we assure our readers in advance that some of the pages are worth ten times the money.

The Menken biographies are located in the Texas Collection. Whether her time in Texas would be sufficient to justify the placement her biographers do not prove. Such disposition may be taking a certain license, but according to Falk:

We must not assume from the various examples of Menken's fancy that she was an inveterate liar. Nearer the truth, and kinder to her memory, is to assume that when she found dull realism too monotonous for her poetical imagination, she was disposed to apply a little embroidery. It is just poetic license.

LLERENA FRIEND  
*Librarian, Texas History Center*



